



The figure that you here can just
 Was for R. Dashiell, Herman, cut
 Amid his household gods to lodge
 And relics called from far and wide
 His book is his on whom you look
 For Scott has growing battle book

And asked the man to watch therein
 That none by guile the book might win
 Then note fair! of great and small
 The world holds books enough for all
 If roughly handling this beware
 And put it in its place with care



T H E K I N G S ^{8.}

M O S T G R A C I O U S

M E S S A G E S F O R P E A C E ,

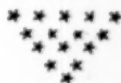
A N D

A P E R S O N A L T R E A T Y .

Published for His Peoples Satisfaction,
that they may see and judge, whether
the foundation of the Commons Declaration,
touching their Votes of no farther Addresse
to the K I N G , (*vi^z*. His Majesties
aversion to Peace) be just,
Rationall and Religious.

P S A L 21. 7.

*The King trusteth in the Lord, and through the
mercy of the most High he shall not be moved.*



Printed in the Yeare , 1 6 4 8.





TO THE READERS,
of whatsoever Nation, Quality,
or Condition.

Readers,

T*He Papists teach, that Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion; but we believe, of mischief rather. The world knew him not, says the Spirit, of our Saviour, for had they known, (as in another place) they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory: and if Ignorance it was, they desired Barabbas, and denied Jesus: I wot that through Ignorance ye did it (says the Apostle.) So many people (in these times) have been busily mischievous against their King through Ignorance, because they did not know Him: for had they known His Vertues and His Graces, they would not (doubtlesse) have opposed Him, nor preferred such (as they have done) before Him.*

But as our Saviour was, so hath our Sovereign been, shaddowed much from vulgar Eyes, by the black cloud of sclaunder and reproaches; which notwithstanding was, and is removed from each, by the patients sufferings, gentle actions, and gracious sayings of them both: so that what

To the Readers.

was hidden, did, and doth (at last) appear (mangre sight) to admiration. Verily this was the Son of God, (said some of Christ in those dayes, who before had thought but meanly of him:) And againe, Never Man did, or spake like him. So those men, who (when time was) had low opinions of their King, are even forced to confesse now, that Doubtlesse He is a man of God, highly beloved of the Father, for never any (in the midst of so much sorrow) suffered, acted, or writ better then He hath done.

What Christs Minde and Spirit was, (even unto those who studyed His hurt) the Gospell shewes; and (that all men might know the same) 'tis His Command to read that: Search the Scriptures (sayes he) for they are they which doe testifie of me. Indeed they are His Messages of Peace to mankinde; they discover His love and disposition to us, His strong desires of Reconciliation with us. And of like nature or kinde to them, are these ensuing Royall Papers; which (also) for a like end, are here collected, published, and presented in one view: (that the world might more fully see, and know the King.) They are Messages of Peace from Him the wronged party, and may be (not unfitly) called His Majesties Gospell to His people: wherein they may most clearly view His Gracious Spirit, and His temper; His gentle Nature and disposition, even towards those, who take pains and pleasure both, to vex and grieve Him.

Had that Heathen Senate of old Rome read Christs Gospell, and Him therein, His power and readinesse to save them, they would not (doubtlesse) have voted Him no God: So it may be thought, if the Senate of these dayes, had read these Messages of their Sovereign, with a right Eye; and observed His goodnesse expressed in them, His ability and willingness of minde to pardon such as themselves are: they would not have voted Him no King, or (which is little lesse)

To the Readers.

no more Addresses to be made to Him. But (it seemes now) through their default in grace and light; His Majesties Regality (like Christs Divinity) must depend upon the approbation of His own Creatures, (for such they are, as they possesse the place of Senatours;) and must passe for currant no longer in the world, then they shall please to allow of it.

But doth not this Act of theirs proclaime to all, they fear not God? 'tis His command, that if a Brother, an equall, or common man be at odds with any, there should be a going or sending to, and a receiving from, till a concord be concluded: but these being at difference with their King, their Sovereign, their Publick Father, (to whom they owe all duty) have voted the quite contrary; and Resolv'd upon the Question, that no more Addresses be made unto, or received from Him: and supposing that this their opposition unto God, might be noted to their shame; they have since that, advised upon an Ordinance that none shall presume to speak against them, or to finde fault at their so doing. This is the Divinity of these times, or rather of these new Reformers, but we refer their doings to the worlds censure, and themselves to the Judge of all flesh.

Readers, You have here set before your Eyes, Piety and Conscience; Wisdome and Humility; Majesty and Mercy: Bowels of Compassion, and Charity to Friends and Enemies: Yea, what ever discovers a good King, and a perfect Christian; you shall meet with it in these Messages of His Majesty: Behold them, Read them, Consider of them: And let that sweet Spirit of God which shines and breathes in them, be conveyed plentifully into your Hearts by them.



The Preface.

HAd Solomon lived in our daies, He would scarce have said, *there is no new thing under the Sun*, or *that which is, hath been*, for surely that which now is, hath never been: the *Sun* never saw such a *shamelesse* and *viperous* Generation, as the wicked world in this her *last* and *worst* Age hath brought forth; *Patience* cannot mention them, without a zealous *passion* against them: and should Christ himself speak of them, He would say *they were of their father the Devill*, who undoubtedly hath put forth his whole strength to their begetting, by whose sole help He hopes (under contrary pretences and professions) for ever to disgrace, (if not to ruinate) *Christian verity* in this Kingdome, to banish all *Duty* and *Charity* from among us, to rob us of that *Liberty* which no people like us did enjoy, and to keep us under the most *ernell* and *unreasonable* Bondage that ever was, and so to make us (who were the Happiest) of all nations the most *miserable* and *despised*.

To which ungodly ends, this *sinfull Broom* have raised a most wicked war in their own native Country, against their Sovereign, (the indulgent Father of it) unto whom themselves had often sworn *fidelity* and *Allegiance*: nor hath the supream *Moderator* of Heaven and Earth yet stopt them in their way, but (for the due punishment of our sins, the full discovery of their incredible wickednesse, and of those admirable graces in the King) hath suffered them rather to prevail, prosper, and grow worse and worse these 7 years together: in which *interim* or space of time, His

The Preface.

sacred Majesty (though the wronged party) imitating the *Great and Good God*, hath often in his Commiseration and pity both to us and them, (of our *misery* and their *madness*) sought Peace at their Hands, who for no cause had broke the same; yea and offered more for the Purchase of it, then was ever till now desired of any English King.

But they designing (as is now Evident) to inflave us, and settle themselves in his Throne, have like *deaf Adders* stop't their Ears, and been most perverse unto all desires of that nature: yea, and to prevent his sending them any more, have now at length not only imprison'd his *sacred Person*, but also (as may be affirmed) *interdicted* him all Humane Society, by voting *no further Addresses to be made unto Him*, and forbidding all men, (under penalty of High Treason) *to receive, or bring any Message from Him*, so tedious (it seems) to the Haters of Peace, are motions thereunto, and so irksome is Reason to them who resolve to Hear none.

But supposing in their black Policy, this Height of impiety, might somewhat Startle the amazed world, who had not been acquainted with the like before, they promised a *satisfactory Declaration*, wherein should be shewn the Reasons of so strange Votes and courses; upon which the seduced part of men grew big with expectation, and looked for some new *great mountain of Error* to be brought forth against the King, never yet seen or heard of: But behold, at last what appeared; only a parcell of *stale stuffe*, a new Heap of *old tales* without proofs, which had been oftner told and confuted already, then there be *Members* left in both Houses; so that the repetition of them on this occasion, is confessed by those who were blind before, to be but an open discovery of an *impotent spite* that wants nothing but matter to work upon: And so far, is this *Declaration* from satisfying amazed minds, concerning those uncouth votes, that it rather leaves them more astonished, the *Ground* or cause thereof being more strange and impudent, then the *votes* themselves, viz. *the Kings avernesse unto Peace*, it begins thus:

How fruitlesse our former Addresses have been to the King, is so well known to the world, that it may be expected we should now declare, why we made the last, or so many before, rather then why we
are

are resolved to make no more. And again in the same page,

We have no lesse then 7 times (being never yet forced thereto) made such Applications to the King, and tendered such Propositions, that might occasion the world to judge, we have not only yeilded up our Wills and Affections, but our Reason also and Judgment, for obtaining any true Peace or good Accommodation. But it never yet pleased the King to accept of any tender fit for us to make, nor yet to offer any fit for us to receive.

Had these men who thus speak, acted the Kings part, and He theirs, there might have been much of *truth*, though little of *Piety* and *manners* in these Expressions of their Sovereign: or had Affairs betwixt His Majesty and them been agitated in a Corner, & not in the worlds Eye, perhaps by these so confident aspersions of him, some ill *suspitions* might have risen in peoples minds against him; but the case being as it is, and matters been acted as they have, on the publick Stage, we have cause to admire at their Hard foreheads. Certainly did they not fancy us stark blind, they would not tell us it were night at noone day: did they not think us given up to the strongest delusions that ever were, they would not speak to us after this fashion: but from this their *Language*, we shall learn this Lesson, That *they who are not ashamed publicly to Charge such a thing upon their King, so manifestly contrary to all mens knowledge, will never blush to traduce him to the full Height, in matters more secret, or lesse visible.* This beginning of their Declaration (therefore) doth well instruct all people, how to believe them in the sequel of it.

These Brass-brow'd and unreverend Men, that so boldly affirm *the world well knows how fruitlesse their former Addresses have been, &c.* cannot shew one *Addresse* so qualified as they speak, ever made by them to the King, that proved *fruitlesse*: they cannot name any one *Act*, wherein they denied their own *Wills*, or discovered the least good *Affection* to their Sovereign, since the beginning of these Divisions; nor can they instance in any one *motion* ever proceeding from them unto His Majesty, and refused by Him, that had any favour of right *Reason*, or relish of true *Judgment* in it: nay, have not themselves continually slighted, and most unreverently rejected what ever Messages of that nature have been sent from him? did His Majesty ever demand any thing

The Preface.

of them, that was not His own by *Law*? nay, in order to Peace, did He ever ask so much as by *Law* was due unto Him? did He not alwaies recede from the same, to satisfie them, if their guilt and perverseness had not made them incapable of Satisfaction? Surely the King hath not 7 times onely, but rather 7 times seven within these 7 years, made such *Applications* to them, offered such *senders* of mercy & pardon, and of His own undoubted Rights & Priviledges, as did (in very deed) occasion the world to judge, that He had *yeilded up His will and Affections*, yea *His Reason, Judgment*, and all, for the obtaining of a good *Accommodation*: but they would never yet please to accept of any; when He spake to them of *Peace*, they Hardened their Hearts against it, and made themselves *ready to Battaille*: these things they know we are able to demonstrate, being such as the *world* hath taken full notice of; and yet with what audaciousnesse doe they affirm the Contrary before the *worlds* face, to the Kings dishonour, and their owne Commendation, (as they would have it?) But (it seems) Change is no Robbery in their opinions; sith they return to the King what is theirs, and apply unto Him their own Conditions, in lieu of that Candour and righteousnesse which they take from Him, to paint themselves withall, they think they have done very good Justice. Our Saviour Himself had to doe with such persons, who could charge him home with their own faults, and appropriate most favourably to themselves, that Innocency and goodnesse which was truly His; they could accuse and slander His Holy Actions, and give a large good report of their own ill doings; whereby (as He saies) they spake their *Testimony* to be *untrue*, and themselves *Children of the Father of Lies*: so whosoever considers what these have writ must needs conclude the like of them, even that *Satan* is in them of a truth.

But their Conceit (as appears) is, that the last word will get the day, and credit enough to their sayings, and this they think they are sure of; for 'tis fore-provided that His Majesty shall either not know, what they object, or if He doth, and hath a mind to speak for Himself, He shall not be suffered; nor must any man dare (under pain of *High Treason*) to bring from Him into publick view any *Papers* or *Writings* of what kind soever, though tending only to the vindication of Himself from their base, vile,
and

and ungodly ſclaunders ; it muſt be ſufficient to condemn Him, that they who thirſt for His bloud have thus accuſed Him. And here is the *wiſdome* of theſe Happy times, this is the *juſtice* of our bleſſed Reformers. Sure had they any Hope that the King were likely by impertinent diſcourſes, to Help their lame and barren cauſe with ſome advantages, they would eaſily admit of a *Treaty* with Him, (what ere they ſay to the Contrary :) or did they imagine His Royall Pen could ſpeak any thing but *Innocency, truth,* and *Reason*, they would be content to hear from it, upon this their further provocation of it : but wholly deſpairing of ſuch matters, they have thought meet, to imprifon both Him and His Pen too, which (they know) would in a moment caſt down this idle *Cobweb*, as it formerly hath done others of like nature, and they think to ſtop all mens mouths, by affirming *the world Well knows How fruitleſſe their former Addreſſes have been to the King.*

But though His Majesties Hands are thus tied, this *Spiders web* muſt not ſcape brushing : before it had Hung 3 daies, an Honelt *broome* reached at it, a wholeſome *Antidote* came out againſt it, and made it appeare to be as it is, fit onely for the draught or Dunghill ; and almoſt daily ſince, ſome Loyall foot or other, hath been trampling on it : for *Stones* would ſurely *move*, and ſtir in this caſe, if men ſhould not.

But ſith none can ſpeak ſo well as the King, and He is *voted* to ſpeak no more, and ſith their *appeal* is made to the *worlds* knowledge, it ſhall not be amiſſe, for the *world* to look back upon what the King hath ſaid or done already, even in Confutation of that here Charged upon Him, ſcil. *His averſneſs unto Peace* : perhaps thereby alone, it will ſufficiently appear, that of all ſclaunders which ever were, theſe *Declarers* have deſerved the name of the *moſt impudent*, and *moſt ſhameleſſe*.

We ſhall not need to look back ſo far as to the years 1642. & 43. or call to mind His Majesties unwillingneſſe to war at firſt, His many Meſſages to prevent the ſame, and to preſerve peace, before it was broken ; or to mention how *ſcornfully* they were entertained, as effects only of His weakneſs, & inſtances of His want of power to make reſiſtance. Nor will we remember how by force of Arms, they had kept him out of His town of *Hull*, taken His *Militia* and *Navy* from Him, and raiſed an *Army* againſt

The Earles of
Derby and
Southampton.

Him, before He set up His *Standard* in His own defence against them (which His desire of Peace had prevailed with him to take down again, and to recall his most just *Declaration*, so that their unreverend and scandalous *Libels* against him might but likewise be recalled :) nor yet how in those daies his Messengers, men of High Nobility and great Honour (against whom they had nothing to object but that employment) were not suffered in person to declare their Message, (because it was for Peace) but commanded to depart the town speedily. Nor how at other times they imprisoned others that came to them on the same Errand, how they often neglected to return Him any *Answer* at all, or perhaps in lieu thereof (after a moneths delay) they would send Him a parcell of reproachfull expressions, and peevish constructions of what He had writ in the sincerity of His heart, and pity of Spirit for the insuing Miseries of His people; which notwithstanding He would still interpret, and call, but *mistakes*, that He might not exasperate (if possible) their ulcerated minds unto contention, though in very deed, they were no other then High Sclaunders & studied Contempts. Nor wil we call to mind how once in particular His earnest pressing for peace by a second and third *Message*, (before He had received Answer to a former,) did appear so intolerably offensive unto them, that to teach Him to make an end of such motions, and to prevent (if it might be) all further molestations from Him of that nature, they fell the very next day (after their receipt thereof, having first committed His Messenger) to accuse His Majesties *Royall Consort* of High Treason.

But these things at so large a distance we need not remember; nor how his Majesty after the often frustration of such His own endeavours for Peace, did convene the loyall Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, to consult of a way to procure that desired blessing; how they laboured in vain about the same, and had their Letters which they sent to that end cryed up and down *London streets* in scorn, under the Title of a *Petition of the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Yorke for Peace*. How in answer thereto, Papers full of Treason, sedition, and disloyalty were sent unto them, together with that unlawfull *Covenant* (which now themselves denie at, as an *Almanacke of last year*, or occasionall trick devised at the present to cheat the Kingdome) for His Majesty and all in *Ox-*
ford

ford to take : nor need we remember how all those Noble and Loyall men did under their Hands attest (to-all the world) His Majesties earnest longings to have a period put to these unkind divisions, which Himself also by his Actions did alwaies confirm, whose constant course it was, at the end of any *Victory* got by him, or any remarkable *defeat* given to them, to send forth His Proclamations of Mercy and tenders of pardon (which are still extant in many hands) on Condition they would but at length be quiet and imbrace *peace*, which they would never consent unto, unlesse He would also yeild to Justifie their *Jealousies*, and to condemn Himself as guilty of all they had Charged upon Him : And 'tis well enough known that when ever He procured to have a *Treaty* with them (which was but seldome) His *Propositions* were so much tending to their *advantage*, and his owne *damage*, that nothing disliked them more, then His *moderation*, which indeed was the true cause of their continuall backwardnesse unto *Treaties*, and also of their strict *Limitations* to their Commissioners, when with much adoe they were obtained, (as is evident enough by the passages of that at *Uxbridge* :) for they supposing the *reasonableness* of what they knew His Majesty desired, and the *unreasonableness* of what themselves intended to aske, would be so apparent by a free and open discussion, that a Peace thereby might happily be produced in despite of them : wherefore their care was to prevent (if they could) any *Treaties* at all, or else by devises to break them off, before they came to any perfection ; and then they would with all speed make a *Declaration* to the world, wherein they would pretend fully to shew, that *His Majesties demands had neither Reason nor Justice, either in the matter or manner of them, but were such as left the people no Hopes to see an End of their present Calamities.*

But (as was said) we shall not need to look back so far for Helps to overthrow the Groundwork of this their false building, we shall onely remember the meanes used by His Majesty for *Peace*, since His peoples Calamities are confessed without dispute, to be solely continued by these Declarers ; since the power hath been wholly in their Hands, and few or no forces pretending for the King in appearance against them ; (His Armies being for most

most part of the time disbanded, and His Townes and Garrisons resigned.)

In a word, we shall present to the worlds review onely those *Messages for Peace*, sent from His Majesty in these two last years, since a little before He laied down His *Sword*, and ceased from *Action* against them; whereby it will be manifest enough, what little cause they have to speak as they doe, in Commendation of themselves and their owne good natures; or to suggest of the King, as if He were so unperfwadable to this very day, that neither their owne *sighs*, and *groans*, and *tears* will incline Him to be quiet, nor the *crying blond* of *Fathers*, *Brothers*, *Children*, and of many Hundred thousand free-born Subjects in three great Kingdomes can prevail with him to *desist* from Cruelty and destruction. And then after this we shall desire to see what *Evidence* themselves can allege for what they have said; we shall wish they would produce the *strong reasons* they have used, to shew those *Humble addresses* which they have made, and doe so much boast of; that they would let us Hear some of their *self-denying streins*, *affectionate expressions* or *devout Petitions*, which (as they infer) have so respectfully and tenderly flowed from them, so often, and so long, that thereby the world (to whom they appeal) may Judge in this case, betwixt their King and them: which if they are not able to doe, no question but what they have voted of Him, will be generally concluded of them, viz. that they are worthy to be *interdicted all Humane society*, to have no more *Messages* sent, or *offers* made unto them: nor any *requests* or *Petitions* hereafter received from them; And that the King should say to them, as God doth to such as they, *Because I have called, and ye refused, I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded, but have set at nought all my Connells, and slighted all my motions, therefore when your fear commeth as Desolation, and your Destruction as a whirlwind, when distresse and anguish is upon you, then you shall call unto me, but I will not answer, you shall seek mercy from me, but you shall not find it; you shall eat the fruit of your owne waies, and be filled With your owne devises: As you have done, so shall it be done unto you.*

9

His Majesties most Gracious Messages
for Peace, sent to the two Houses of Parliament
at *Westminster* since the 5. of Dec. 1645.

His Majesties first Message.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty being deeply sensible of the Continuation of this bloody and unnaturall Warre, cannot think Himself discharg'd of the duty He owes to God, or the affection and regard He hath to the preservation of His People, without the constant application of His earnest endeavours to finde some expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that may be, doth therefore desire, That a Safe Conduct may be forthwith sent, for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earle of *Southampton*, *John Ashburnham*, and *Jeffery Palmer* Esquires, and their Attendants, with Coaches, Horses, and other Accommodations for their Journey to *Westminster*, during their stay there, and return when they shall think fit. Whom His Majesty intends to send to the Lords & Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furnished with such Propositions, as His Majesty is confident will be the Foundation of a happy and well-grounded Peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford the 5. of Decem. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore.*

THis Message being received, a Letter was sent thereupon from the *Speakers* of both *Houses* to *Sir Thomas Glemham* (the then Governour of *Oxford*) promising an Answer to it *with all convenient speed*, which His Majesty expected with silence accordingly *ten dayes*, and then solicites them again for the same thing, which He had done before, as followeth.

His Majesties second Message.

CHARLES R.

His Majesty cannot but extremely wonder, that after so many Expressions on your part, of a deep and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicted Kingdome, and of the dangers incident to His Person during the continuance of this unnaturall War, your many great and so often repeated Protestations, that the raising of these Arms hath been onely for the necessary defence of Gods true Religion, His Majesties Honour, Safety and Prosperity, the Peace, Comfort and Security of His People, you should delay a Safe Conduct to the persons mentioned in His Majesties Message of the fifth of this instant *December*, which are to be sent unto you with Propositions for a well-grounded Peace: A thing so far from having been denyed at any time by His Majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that He believes it hath been seldome (if ever) practiced among the most avowed and professed enemies, much lesse from Subjects to their King. But His Majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make Him faile of His part, in doing His uttermost endeavours to put an end to these Calamities, which if not in time prevented, must prove the ruine of this unhappy Na-

Nation; And therefore doth once again desire, That a safe Conduſt may be forthwith ſent for thoſe perſons expreſſed in His former Meſſage, and doth therefore Conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God, in that day when he ſhal make inquisition for all the Bloud that hath and may yet be ſpilt in this unnaturall War, as you tender the preſervation and eſtabliſhment of the true Religion; by all the Bonds of Duty and Allegiance to your King, or compaſſion to your bleeding, and unhappy Country, and of Charity to your ſelves, that you diſpoſe your hearts to a true ſenſe, and imploy all your faculties in a more ſerious endeavour, together with His Maſteſty, to ſet a ſpeedy end to theſe waſting Diviſions, and then He ſhall not doubt, but that God will yet again give the bleſſing of Peace to this diſtracted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 15. of December, 1645.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe
of Peers pro tempore.*

THis Meſſage ſeconding the former, ſpake (as many others had done) His Maſteſties earneſtneſſe for *Peace*; and how much affected He was with his peoples miſeries in the want of it: but 'tis thought meet (by them to whom 'tis ſent) *to make His Heart more ſicke, by delaying His hopes*; and therefore (neglecting their owne promiſe of returning an Answer *with all convenient ſpeed*) they cauſe him to wait *ten daies* longer, at the end of which time they ſeemed as far from remembering either *Him*, or *themſelves* as at the beginning: which His Maſteſty obſerving, and withall conceiving this unwillingnes in them to admit of *Peace*, might be for that *He* had motioned to ſend it by others, apprehended becauſe they had (in pretence at leaſt) fought ſo long to enjoy His preſence, that if himſelf ſhould carry it, they would undoubtedly both imbrace *that*, and reverence *Him*; and thereupon offers to go unto them, and to Treat *perſonally* with them about the ſame:

His Majesties most Gracious

yea and to make the surer way to Himself with this great Blessing (in the behalf of His people) He resolves to *buy* their consent, if he cannot *beg* it, by receding so much from His owne *rights*, as none of His Predecessours ever did : for supposing the point of their owne *security*, to be the maine obstacle in the Businesse ; He offers to part with the *Militia* it self out of His owne Hands for a season : and to this purpose, omitting all Expostulations for their so High neglect, and contempt of Him, in not answering His former Messages ; He writes to them, as followeth :

His Majesties third Message.

CHARLES R.

Notwithstanding the strange and unexpected *de-laies* (which can be presided by no former times) to His Majesties two former Messages, His Majesty will lay aside all Expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, then to contribute any remedy to the evils, which (for the present) do afflict this distracted Kingdom; Therefore without farther Preamble, His Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these Propositions this way, which He intended to do by the Persons mentioned in His former Messages, though He well knows the great disadvantage, which Overtures of this kind have, by the want of being accompanied by well-instructed Messengers.

His Majesty conceiving that the former Treaties have hitherto proved ineffectuall, chiefly for want of power in those persons that Treated, as likewise, because those from whom their power was derived (not possibly having the particular informations of every severall debate) could not give so clear a Judgment as was requisite in so important a businesse ; If therefore His Majesty may

may have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Major, Aldermen, Common-Council, and Militia of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army, as also those in the *Scots* Army, for His Majesties free and safe coming to, & abode in *London* or *Westminster*, (with such of His Servants now attending Him, and their Followers, not exceeding in all the number of 300) for the space of forty daies, and after the said time for his free and safe repair to any of His Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or *Newark*, (which His Majesty shall nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Westminster*) His Majesty propounds to have a Personall Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of Peace and happinesse to these miserably distracted Kingdoms; And to begin with the three Heads which were Treated on at *Uxbridge*. And for the better clearing of His Majesties earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnaturall Distractions, (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) His Majesty therefore Declares, That He is willing to commit the great Trust of the *Militia* of this Kingdom, for such time, and with such Powers, as are exprest in the Paper delivered by His Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, the 6. of *February* last, to these Persons following, *viz.* The Lord *Privy Seal*, the Duke of *Risbmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord *Chamberlain*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of

His Majesties most Gracious

Manchester, Earl of Warwick, Earl of Denbigh, Earl of Chichester, Lord Say, Lord Seymour, Lord Lucas, Lord Lexington, Mr. Denzell Hollis, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Henry Bellasis, Mr. Richard Spencer, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Master John Alburnham, Sir Gervas Clifton, Sir Henry Vane junior, Mr. Robert Wallop, Mr. Thomas Chichely, Master Oliver Cromwell, and Mr. Philip Skippon, supposing that these are Persons against whom there can be no just exception: But if this doth not satisfie, then His Majesty offers to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majesty calls God and the World to witnesse, of His sincere Intentions and reall Endeavours, for the composing and settling of these miserable Distractions, which He doubts not, but by the blessing of God, will soon be put to a happy Conclusion, if this His Majesties offer be accepted; Otherwise He leaves all the World to Judge, who are the Continuers of this unnaturall War. And therefore He once more Conjures you, by all the Bonds of Duty you owe to God and your King, to have so great a Compassion on the bleeding and miserable Estate of your Country, That you joync your most serious and hearty Endeavours with His Majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present Miseries.

Given at the Court at Oxford the 26 of December, 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
To be Communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.*

While

WHile this Message was in the way of passage to them, this ensuing Paper (which seems to relate to the two former) comes from them, after 20 daies *serious Consideration*, (as themselves speak) for so long the *Lords and Commons of the Parliament of England*, together with the *Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland*, were deep in consultation about the framing of it: it contains only two things; a *Commendation of themselves*; and a *Deniall of the Kings request, for a safe Conduct unto His Commissioners to Treat for Peace*: 'tis this which follows:

May it please your Majesty,

THe *Lords and Commons Assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster*, have received your *Letters of the fifth fifteenth of this instant December*, and having, together with the *Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland*, taken the same into their *serious consideration*, do humbly return this *Answer*.

They have in all their *Actions manifested to Your Majesty and the World*, their *sincere and earnest desires*, that a *safe and well grounded Peace* might be settled in *Your three Kingdoms*, and for the obtaining so great a *Blessing*, shall ever pray to *God*, and use their utmost *endeavours*, and beseech *Your Majesty to believe*; that their not sending a more *speedy Answer*, hath not proceeded from any *intention to retard the means of putting an end to these present Calamities by a happy Peace*, but hath been occasioned by the *Considerations and Debates necessary in a businesse of so great importance*, wherein both *Kingdoms* are so much concerned.

As to *Your Majesties desire of a safe Conduct for the coming hither of the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, John Ashburnham and Jeffrey Palmer Esquires*, with *Propositions to be the foundation of a happy and well grounded Peace*, They finding that former *Treaties* have been made use of for other ends under the presence of *Peace*, and have proved *delatory, and unsuccessfull*, cannot give way to a *safe Conduct according to Your Majesties desire*; But both *Houses of the Parliament of England*, having now under their *Consideration Propositions and Bills for the settling of a safe and well grounded Peace*, which are *speedily to be communicated to the Commissioners*

His Majesties most Gracious

missioners of the Kingdom of Scotland, do resolve after mutuall agreement of both Kingdoms to present them with all speed to Your Majesty.

Westminster the
25. December, 1645.

Gray of Wark Speaker of the House
of Peers *pro tempore.*

William Lenthall Speaker of the
House of Commons.

WE have read of a proud *Pope*, that made His Lord the Emperour seeking for a *Treaty* with Him, wait three daies before he would grant it : but never till this Age was it heard or read, that *Humble and Loyall Subjects* (as these men call themselves) did force their Sovereigne to wait twenty daies for an Answer to a like request, and then return Him a flat deniall : But His majesty had been too long, and too well acquainted with this *perverse*nesse of theirs ; and being (in His measure) like Him whose *Vicergerent* He is, of great patience and long-suffering, passeth by again, this their unreverend Carriage and demeanour towards Him, without any expostulation about the same, being ever careful, to shun and avoid what might in likelyhood hinder His pious designe, of obtaining *Peace* unto his people : and therefore presseth again His last motion in his third Message for a *personall Treaty* in these words,

His Majesties fourth Message.

CHARLES R.

Although the Message sent by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, may justly require an expostulatory Answer, yet His Majesty laies that aside, as not so proper for His present Endeavours ; leaving all the World to judge, whether His Proposition for a Personall Treaty, or the flat deniall of a safe Conduct for Persons to begin a Treaty, be greater signes of a reall Intention to Peace ;
and

and shall now onely insist upon His former Message of the 26 of this *December*. That upon His repair to *Westminster*, He doubts not but so to joyne His Endeavours with His two Houses of Parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not onely concerning the businesse of *Ireland*, but also for the settling of a way for the payment of the Publike Debts, as well to the *Scots*, and to the City of *London*, as others. And as already He hath shewn a fair way for the settling of the *Militia*, so He shall carefully Endeavour in all other Particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just Jealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired Peace. And certainly this Proposition of a Personall Treaty could never have entred into His Majesties Thoughts, if He had not resolved to make apparent to all the World, that the Publike good and Peace of this Kingdom, is farre dearer to Him then the respect of any particular Interest. Wherefore none can oppose this Motion, without a manifest demonstration, that He particularly envies His Majesty should be the chief Author in so blessed a Work, besides the declaring Himself a direct opposer of the happy Peace of these Nations. To conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed, that His fair and specious Protestations should be brought to a true and Publike Test; and those who have a reall sence, and doe truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding Countrey, let them speedily and cheerfully embrace His Majesties Proposition for His Personall Treaty at *Westminster*, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now distracted Kingdomes, restore the hap-

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His Majesties most Gracious

pinesse of a long wisht for, and lasting Peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 29 day of December, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be Communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

THis Message (as it seems) was very *unpleasing*, and spake the King very *troublesome*, in being so importunate for *Peace*, and to come amongst them, whose *presence* next to that of God, would be the greatest torment to them: Wherefore to let him know, that Ambassadors for Peace are never welcome, but to those that love it; and to give him a guesse what Himself should find if He came within their reach, they kept His *Messenger* as their Prisoner, and returned silence to His *Message*: hereupon His Majesty having waited their Leasure full twenty daies longer (*viz.* from *Dec. 26.* to *Jan. 15.*) and hearing no news of either, sends to inquire after His *Trumpet*, and withall moves again to the same purpose as before, enlarging His offers for what He desires, and recedes further yet from His owne Rights, for His Peoples quiet, in these words:

His Majesties fifth Message.

CHARLES R.

BUt that these are times, wherein nothing is strange; it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what should cause this unparalell'd long detention of His Majesties Trumpet, sent with His Gracious Message of the 26 of *December* last; Peace being the only Subject of it, and His Majesties Personall Treaty, the means proposed for it. And it were almost as great a wonder, that
His

His Majesty should be so long from inquiring after it, if that the hourly expectation thereof, had not, in some measure satisfied His Impatience: But lest His Majesty by His long silence, should condemn Himself of Carelesse in that, which so much concerns the good of all His People, He thinks it high time to inquire after His said *Trumpeter*, For since all men who pretend any goodness, must desire Peace; and that all men know Treaties to be the best and most Christian way to procure it, and there being as little question, that His Majesties Personal Presence in it, is the likeliest way to bring it to a happy Issue; He judges there must be some strange variety of accidents, which causeth this most tedious delay; wherefore His Majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy Account of His former Message, the subject whereof is Peace, and the means His Personall presence at *Westminster*, where the Government of the Church being settled, as it was in the times of the happy and glorious Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *JAMES*, and full Liberty for the ease of their Consciences, who will not communicate in that Service established by Law, and likewise for the free and publike use of the *Directory* (prescribed, and by Command of the two Houses of Parliament, now practised in some parts of the City of *London*) to such as shall desire to use the same, and all Forces being agreed to be Disbanded, His Majesty will then forthwith (as He hath in His Message of the 29 of *December* last, already offered) joyn with His two Houses of Parliament, in settling some way for the payment of the publike Debts to His *Scots* Subjects, the City of *London*, and others: And His Majesty having proposed a fair way, for the settling of the *Militia*, which now by this long delay, seems not to be thought sufficient secu-

rity: His Majesty (to shew how really He will imploy Himself at His coming to *Westminster*) for making this a lasting Peace, and taking away all jealousies, (how groundlesse soever) will endeavour upon debate with His two Houses, so to dispose of it (as likewise of the businesse of *Ireland*) as may give to them and both Kingdoms just satisfaction; not doubting also, but to give good contentment to His two Houses of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admirall, the Officers of State and others, if His two Houses, by their ready inclinations to Peace shall give Him encouragement thereunto. Thus His Majesty having taken occasion by His just impatience so to explain His intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy Issue to this succeeding Treaty: If now, there shall be so much as a delay of the same, He calls God and the World to witness, who they are, that not only hinder, but reject this Kingdoms future happiness. It being so much the stranger, that His Majesties coming to *Westminster*, (which was first the greatest pretence for taking up Arms) should be so much as delayed, much lesse not accepted or refused; But His Majesty hopes, that God will no longer suffer the malice of Wicked men to hinder the Peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 15 of January, 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
To be Communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.*

CAn Subjects desire more, or to have their King offer more, when is here tendred? sure no good Christian Subjects can desire so much, or be content to have their King recede so far from Himself

Himself for their sakes : But by this, and the preceding *Messages*, we see what the King hath bidden for the purchase of *Peace*, and a Treaty with them ; now we shall have a glimpse of what they thought fit to aske of Him for their *leave* to let Him come, and speak with them, after they had fasted, prayed, and fought five years to fetch Him to His Parliament : for immediately after His sending this last most gracious Message, there came to His Majesties hands as the effect of His Four former, and the reward of His forty daies waiting this insuing Paper, which contains only a parcell of such scandalous and crosse speeches, as shamelesse women are wont to cast up against those they raile upon, and mean to live in Contention with, which notwithstanding the world (supposed to be as void of Reason, as themselves are of Religion) must interpret an *Humble Adresse unto His Majesty for Peace*, because it begins with *May it please your Majesty, We your Humble and Loyall Subjects*, for 'tis one of those *Addresses*, which (in the beginning of their late Declaration) they say the world well knows to have been so fruitlesse, wherein they have yielded up their wills, *Affections, Reason, Judgment, and all for obtaining a true peace or good Accommodation*, it follows in these very words,

May it please your Majesty,

WE Your Humble and Loyall Subjects of both Kingdoms, have received Your Letters of the 26 and 29 of December last; unto which we humbly return this Answer.

That there hath been no delay on our parts, but what was necessary in a businesse of so great consequence, as is expressed in our former Letter to Your Majesty.

Concerning the personall Treaty desired by Your Majesty, There having been so much innocent blood of Your good Subjects shed in this War, by Your Majesties Commands and Commissions, Irish Rebels brought over into both Kingdoms, and enleavours to bring over more into both of them, as also Forces from Forraign parts ; Your Majesty being in Arms in these parts, the Prince in the head of an Army in the West, divers Towns made Garrisons, and kept in Hostility by Your Majesty against the Parliament of England : There being also Forces in Scotland against that Parliament and Kingdom by Your Majesties Commission : The War in Ireland somented and prolonged

His Majesties most Gracious

by Your Majesty, whereby the three Kingdoms are brought neer to utter ruine and destruction. We conceive, That untill satisfaction and security be first given to both your Kingdoms, Your Majesties coming hither cannot be convenient, nor by us assented unto. Neither can we apprehend it a means conducing to Peace, That Your Majesty should come to Your Parliament for a few daies, with any thoughts of leaving it; especially with intentions of returning to Hostility against it. And We do observe, That Your Majesty desires the Ingagement, not only of the Parliaments, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councell, and Militia of the City of London, the chief Commanders of Sir Thomas Fairfax's Army, and those of the Scots Army, which is against the Priviledges and Honour of the Parliaments, those being joyned with them, who are subject and subordinate to their Authority.

That which Your Majesty against the freedom of the Parliaments inforces in both Your Letters with many earnest expressions, as if in no other Way then that propounded by Your Majesty, the Peace of Your Kingdoms could be established, Your Majesty may please to remember, that in Our last Letter, We did Declare, That Propositions from both Kingdoms were speedily to be sent to Your Majesty, which We conceive to be the only way for attaining a happy and well-grounded Peace, and Your Majesties assent unto those Propositions, will be an effectuall meanes for giving satisfaction and security to Your Kingdoms: will assure a firm Union between the two Kingdoms, as much desired by each other as for themselves; And settle Religion and secure the Peace of the Kingdom of Scotland, whereof neither is so much as mentioned in Your Majesties Letters.

And in proceeding according to these just and necessary grounds for the putting an end to the bleeding Calamities of these Nations, Your Majesty may have the Glory to be a Principall Instrument in so happy a Work; and We (however mis-interpreted) shall approve our selves to God and the World, to be reall and sincere in seeking a safe and well-grounded Peace.

Westminster, 13. Jan. 1645.

Grey of Wark, Speaker of the
House of Peers *pro tempore*.
William Lenthall, Speaker of
the House of Commons.

For Your Majesty.

Signed in the name and
by warrant of the Com-
missioners of the Parlia-
ment of Scotland.

BALMERINOTH.

THeir silence was bad, and shewed great insolency, but their *Language* is far worse, and speaks much more, for their stile and matter in this Paper declares them to be *men most unreasonable*, even such as the Apostle praises God to be delivered from, and shews clearly on which side the obstruction to *peace* lies: we see herein upon what Conditions the King might have been admitted (after so many Messages) into the presence of His *Humble and Loyall Subjects*: if He would but have owned the guilt of that innocent blood *themselves had shed*, bin content to be dawbed with *their crimes*, laid down His *Armies*, given up His *Garrisons*, call'd in His *Commissions*, deserted His *Friends*, and deliver'd up *Himself* absolutely without any security into their Hands, with such a submission as they should prescribe, which should have been no other, then might have spoke His approbation of all they have said or done against Himself and this Kingdome to be just and right; then His *Humble and Loyall Subjects* would have vouchsafed to cast a look upon Him, and deign'd so far as to have spoke a word with him.

Herein also besides the Conditions of a *Treaty* are discovered divers *faults* in His Majesties late Messages, which neither Himself nor any other was able to have discern'd, but the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* after a diligent search, having sat close some weeks about it, (for they were not idle all the 40 daies of the Kings waiting) did in their deep wisdomes descry and find them out, and then thought fit (that their Sovereigne might not sleep in His sins) to admonish His Majesty of them: as

1. His requiring of them *ingagement for His own security* if He came amongst them, which was a great errour and mistake in Him, for though He be a *David*, and a man after Gods owne heart, yet they are not *subjects* of the same stamp as *Davids* were, who thought their King worth *ten thousand of themselves*.

2. This request of His, was (in their judgements) against the *Priviledge and Honour of Parliament*, for the speciall Priviledge of this Parliament, or rather the swaying faction in the same, is to *destroy* if they can, and not to *preserve* the King at all.

3. His mentioning the *Mayor, Alderman, Common-Councell, and Militia* of the City, (as if He believed Himself to have any interest

interest in them, and that they were concern'd to ingage for His security) they give Him to understand, was another grand *mistake* in Him; for all they, together with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, and the *Scots* too, are *their* subjects and not *His*, and subordinate to *their* Authority, and therefore for *Him* to expect any *ingagement* for safety from any of *them*, was directly also (in their sense) against the *Honour and Priviledge of Parliament*.

Nay 4. they give His Majesty to know, that He had not onely sinned thus, against the *Honour and Priviledge of Parliament*, but also against the very *freedom* of it, by His propounding with so many *earnest expressions* a Personall Treaty, as the way to a *Peace*; which they interpret no other then a plaine *enforcement* upon the *Liberty* of Parliament, or a violent *rape* upon their wisdom; as if they had not Brains enow, to find out some other way, then that was which His Majesty had propounded: But truly (with their favour) this Errour might more prudently have been passed by, and the aggravation of it omitted; had they but remembered how often themselves had told the world, that all their fighting was but to bring the King home from His evill Counsellors, as *Treat in Person with His Parliament*: for what may the world now think of these wise men? may they not liken them to little *Children*, who in a crosse peevish humour, wil none of that thing when offered to them, but throw it away, which before they had cried and roared for? the old and true way to a *Peace* between different parties, hath alwaies been by *Treaty*, and so was it hitherto judged by these men, (as themselves told us) but now they dislike it, only because the King propounds it: And another way, they have devised, and that must be by *Propositions* of their owne making; which by this their *Preface* are promised to be such as *Benhadad* sent to the King of *Israel*, neither good for Him, nor for His people, but destructive unto both.

But His sacred Majesty, the true mirror of wisdom, meekness, and patience, receiving from them (after divers *Messages* and forty daies waiting) only this reproachfull Paper, (which was able to stir passion in a very *Moses*) doth send back on the very same day, without returning one word of ill Language, this ensuing Answer:

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His Majesties sixt Message.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those aspersions which are returned as arguments for His not admittance to *Westminster* for a Personall Treaty, because it would inforce a style not suitable to His end, it being the Peace of these miserable Kingdoms: yet thus much He cannot but say to those who have sent Him this Answer, That if they had considered what they have done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their duty to Him, in a time when He had granted so much to His Subjects, and in violating the knowne Laws of the Kingdome to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow Subjects, (to say no more to do as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of His Majesties actions. Wherefore His Majesty must now remember them, that having some howers before His receiving of their last Paper of the 13. of *Jan.* sent another Message to them of the 15. wherein by divers particulars He inlargeth Himself to shew the reality of His endeavours for Peace by His desired personall Treaty (which He still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed end) He thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly no rationall man can think their last Paper can be any Answer to His former demands, the scope of it being, that because there is a War, therefore there should be no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible to expect that the Propositions men-

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tioned should be the grounds of a Lasting Peace, when the Persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speak ? But whatever the successe hath been of His Majesties former Messages, or how small soever His hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with His Majesty, yet He will neither want fatherly bowels to His Subjects in generall, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He Treats. Wherefore He now demands a speedy Answer to His last and former Messages.

Given at our Court at Oxon this 17. of Jan. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
to be communicated, &c.*

THese earnest desires of His Majesty for a *speedy* Answer shall nothing prevail with them to *hasten* the same, for His unparalleled meeknesse in passing by such unheard-of *Affronts*, without return of any passionate expression, is so high a vexation to their black and ungodly souls, that they resolve in themselves to make Him wait above three times forty daies longer now, before He shall get a word more from them, let Him send as oft as He will to sollicite for it : which purposed contempt though His Majesty in His *Candour* and *Charity* did not (haply) at that present fancy of them ; yet being too well acquainted with their dispositions, He conceived they might make some ill use among His People, of His silence to their impediments objected against the *Personall Treaty* propounded by Him ; and therefore thought meet seven daies after to speak somewhat in Confutation of those their frivolous Arguments, and again to urge the thing ; as the only likely way of setting *Peace* unto His People ; who from hence may observe, that no rudenesse or insolency towards Him, nor unjust aspersions of Him, are able to divert Him from pursuing the means of their welfare : His words are these,

His Majesties seventh Message.

CHARLES.

THe procuring Peace to these Kingdoms by Treaty, is so much desired by His Majesty, that no unjust aspersions whatsoever, or any other discouragements shall make Him desist from doing His endeavour therein, untill He shall see it altogether impossible: and therefore hath thought fitting so far only to make reply to that Paper or Answer which He hath received of the 13 of this instant *Jan.* as may take away those Objections which are made against His Majesties coming to *Westminster*, expecting still an Answer to His Messages of the 15, and 17. which He hopes by this time have begotten better thoughts and resolutions, in the Members of both *Houses*. And first therefore, Whereas in the said last Paper it is objected as an impediment to His Majesties personal Treaty, that much innocent blood hath been shed in this War, by His Majesties Commissions, &c. He will not now dispute (it being apparent to all the World by whom this blood hath been spilt) but rather presseth that there should be no more: and (to that end only) He hath desired this personall Treaty, as judging it the most immediate means to abolish so many horrid confusions in all His Kingdoms. And it is no argument, to say, That there shall be no such personall Treaty, because there have been Wars, it being a strong inducement to have such a Treaty to put an end to the War. Secondly, that there should be no such personall Treaty, because some of His *Irish* Subjects have repaired to His assistance in it, seems an argument altogether as

strange as the other; as alwaies urging that there should be no Physick, because the party is sick: And in this particular it hath been often observed unto them, that those, whom they call *Irish*, who have so expressed their Loyalty to their Sovereigne, were indeed (for the most part) such English Protestants, as had been formerly sent into *Ireland* by the two Houses, impossibilitated to stay there any longer by the neglect of those that sent them thither, who should there have better provided for them. And for any Forrain forces, it is too apparent that *their* Armies have swarmed with them, when His Majesty hath had very few or none. And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alleaged that the Prince is in the head of an Army in the *West*, and that there are divers Garrisons stil kept in his Majesties obedience, & that there are Forces in *Scotland*; it must be as much confessed, as that as yet there is no peace; and therefore it is desired, that by such a personall Treaty, all these impediments may be removed. And it is not here amisse to put them in mind, how long since His Majesty did presse a disbanding of all Forces on both sides; the refusing whereof, hath been the cause of this objection. And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the Proposition for His Majesties personall Treaty, thereupon inferring, that He should again return to Hostility, His Majesty protesteth that He seeks this Treaty to avoid future Hostility, and to procure a lasting peace, and if He can meet with like inclinations to Peace in those He desires to Treat with, He will bring such affections and resolutions in Himself, as shal end all these unhappy bloudy differences. As for those ingagements which His Majesty hath desired for His security, whosoever shall call to mind the particular occasions that enforced His Majesty

jesty to leave His City of *London* and *Westminster*, will judge His demand very reasonable and necessary for His safety. But He no way conceiveth how the L. Major, Aldermen, Common-Councell, and Militia of *London*, were either subject or subordinate to that Authority which is alleaged, as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: and if the two Armies be, He believes it is more then can be parallel'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can His Majesty understand how His Majesties seeking of a Personall Security can be any breach of Priviledge: it being likely to be infringed by hindering His Majesty from coming freely to His two Houses. As for the Objection that His Majesty omitted to mention the settling Religion, and securing the Peace of His Native Kingdom, His Majesty declares, that He conceives that it was included in His former, and hath been particularly mentioned in his latter Message of the 15 present. But, for their better satisfaction, he again expresseth that it was, and ever shal be, both his meaning and endeavour in this Treaty desired; and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for a finall ending of such distractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conquest, the latter of which his Majesty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wish for: and for the former, if his Personall assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge: when by that means not only all unnecessary delaies will be removed, but even the greatest difficulties made easie. And therefore he doth now again earnestly insist upon that proposition, expecting to have a better answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any Propositions will be so effectually, being formed before a personall Treaty, as such as are framed and propounded up-

His Majesties most Gracious

on a full debate on both sides? Wherefore his Majesty, who is most concerned in the good of his People, and is most desirous to restore peace and happinesse to his three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to his said former Messages, to which he hath hitherto received none.

Given at our Court at Oxon the 24. of Jan. 1645.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
to be communicated to the two Houses of Parli-
ament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners
of the Parliament of Scotland.*

FEW that ventured their lives to fetch home the King (at the infligation of these men) or that heard their Preachers pray so oft, that God would incline *His Majesties heart to come unto His Parliament*, would ever have believed, that He should thus be put to plead for His own admittance amongst them, (who pretended to be so fond of His Company;) or to Answer such *cavils* against the same, as He hath here done, if they had not seen them objected under their own Hands: nor would any have been perswaded (had there not been somewhat extant to evidence the same) that these men could (after all this) have affirmed, that themselves *had yielded up not only their wills and Affections, but also their reason and judgment for obtaining a good Accommodation with the King*: but now 'tis manifest who they are that have abused, gulled, and deceived the world; and who have been the only *obstruellers* unto *Peace*, and most perfect *Enemies* therunto: And yet 'tis no mervaille, that the wickednesse of these notorious men was too deep and high for vulgar reaches, seeing His Majesty Himself after all His experience, (being still straitned in spirit by His owne Charity and goodnesse) was not yet able to fadome the same, at His sending this seventh Message; as may appear by His saying therein, that *He Hopes none will have that impudency and impiety, as to wish an end to the distractions of this Kingdom, rather by Conquest then by Treaty*: for in very deed (as all the world are now perswaded

perswaded since the publishing of their late Declaration) these men have had that *impudency* and *impiety* in them, even from the beginning, not onely to wish, but also to endeavour the same; therefore in vain did His Majesty (as he since hath found) by this again, so instantly desire an Answer to His former Messages for a *personal* meeting: And yet hoping (at least) that importunity might prevail with these *unrighteous Judges*, (though intreaties will not) as it once did with one, *that feared neither God nor Man*, He resolves to follow them still with the same motion, which five daies after He doth, and that upon this occasion.

His Majesty was informed of the *Earl of Glamorgans unwarranted Agitation in Ireland*, and knowing that the manner of His *Humble and Loyal Subjects at Westminster*, was to Honour Him, by heaping on Him the burden of others faults; He thinks it pious & meet to endeavour to keep them from that sin, by giving them a speedy notice of the said *Earls* doings, & of his own absolute dislike of the same, which He evidences by His full approbation of that course which by *Marquess Ormond*, and *L. Digby* was taken against him, Protesting solemnly that *he* never had knowledge of any such *capitulation* or *Treaty* til He heard of the *Earls Arrest* and *restraint* for making the same; disavowing the Articles by Him, concluded and signed, as *destructive* both to *Church and State*, repugnant to His Majesties publick professions and known resolutions, and so hazardous to the blemishing His Reputation; and giving Commandement to the *Lord Lieutenant* and *Councill* of that Kingdom, to proceed against the said *Earl*, for this His grand offence, committed out of *falseness*, *presumption*, or *folly*.

And after this, His Majesty falls again to His old work of importuning a *Treaty for Peace*, which He urgeth upon them, with renewed promises, larger concessions, greater engagements of Himself, and further Explanations of His sincere intentions to *trust* them, to *pardon* them, to *secure* them, let the world read this which follows, and then judge, if any Heart that intends to acknowledge a King, can desire more.

His

His Majesties eighth Message.

CHARLS R.

HIs Majesty having received Information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councell in *Ireland*; That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without His, or their directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholique Party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to his Majesties honour and Royall Dignity, and most prejudiciall unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*: Whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested, upon suspicion of High Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, at the instance and by the Impeachment of the *L. Dighby*, who (by reason of his Place and former Employment in these Affairs) doth best know how contrary that Proceeding of the said Earl hath been to his Majesties Intentions and Directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his Affairs, if those Proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, should be any waies understood to have been done by the directions, liking or approbation of his Majesty.

His Majesty, having in his former Messages for a Personall Treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the Businesse of *Ireland*; hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear Intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said Houses of Parliament, and the rest of his Subjects in all his Kingdoms; to send this

this Declaration to his said Houses containing the whole truth of the businesse, which is

That the Earle of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto Him to raise Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to Conduct them into *England* for His Majesties Service, had a Commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only.

That he had no Commission at all to Treat of any thing else, without the privy and directions of the *Lord Lieutenant*, much lesse to Capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any Propriety, belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the *Lord Lieutenants* Proceedings with the said Earle, That he had no notice at all of what the said Earle had Treated and pretended to have capitulated with the *Irish*, untill by accident it came to his knowledge.

And His Majesty doth Protest, That untill such time as He had advertisement, that the Person of the said Earle of *Glamorgan* was Arrested and restrained, as is abovesaid, He never heard, nor had any kind of notice, that the said Earl had entred into any kind of Treaty or Capitulation with those *Irish* Commissioners: much lesse, that He had concluded or Signed those Articles so destructive both to Church and State, and so repugnant to His Majesties publique Professions, and known Resolutions.

And for the further vindication of His Majesties Honour and Integrity herein, He doth Declare, That He is so far from considering any thing contained in those Papers or Writings framed by the said Earl, and those Commissioners with whom he Treated, as He doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given Comman-

dement to the *Lord Lieutenant*, and the *Councell* there, to proceed against the said Earl, as one, who, either out of fallensesse, presumption, or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of His Majesties Reputation with His good Subjects, and so impertinently framed those Articles of his own head, without the Consent, Privity, or Directions of His Majesty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of His Majesties Councell there. But true it is, That for the necessary preservation of His Majesties Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, whose Case was daily represented unto Him to be so desperate, His Majesty had given Commission to the Lord Lieutenant to Treat and Conclude such a Peace there, as might be for the safety of that Crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no way derogatory to His own Honour and publike Professions.

But to the end, that His Majesties reall intentions in this businesse of *Ireland*, may be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, especially concerning His Majesties not being engaged in any Peace or Agreement there; He doth desire, if the two Houses shall resolve to admit of His Majesties repair to *London*, for a Personall Treaty, (as was formerly proposed) that speedy notice be given thereof to His Majesty, and a passe or safe Conduct, with a blank sent for a Messenger to be immediatly dispatch'd into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder His Majesties Resolution of leaving the managing of the businesse of *Ireland* wholly to the two Houses, and to make no Peace, there but with their consent, which in case it shall please God to bleesse His endeavours in the Treaty with success, His Majesty doth hereby engage Himself to do.

And

And for a further explanation of His Majesties Intentions in His former Messages, He doth now Declare, That if His Personall repair to *London* as aforesaid, shall be admitted, and a Peace thereon shall ensue, He will then leave the nomination of the Persons to be intrusted with the *Militia*, wholly to His two Houses, with such power and limitations as are expressed in the Paper delivered by His Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge* the 6. of *Febr.* 1644. for the terme of Seven years, as hath been desired, to begin immediately after the conclusion of the Peace, the disbanding of all Forces on both sides, and the dismantling of the Garrisons erected since these present Troubles, so as at the expiration of the time before mentioned, the power of the *Militia* shall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further security, His Majesty (the Peace succeeding) will be content, that *pro hac vice* the two Houses shall nominate the Admirall, Officers of State and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *quàm diu se bene gesserint*, which shall be best liked, to be accountable to none but the King, and the two Houses of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion; His Majesty doth further Declare, That by the liberty offered in his Message of the 15. present, for the ease of their Consciences who will not communicate in the Service already established by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom; He intends that all other Protestants behaving themselves peaceably in and towards the Civill Government, shall have the free exercise of their Religion, according to their own way.

And for the totall removing of all Fears and Jealousies, His Majesty is willing to agree, That upon the conclusion of Peace, there shall be a generall Act of Oblivion

vion and Free Pardon past by Acts of Parliaments in both his Kingdoms respectively.

And lest it should be imagined that in the making these Propositions, his Majesties Kingdom of *Scotland*, and his Subjects there have been forgotten or neglected, his Majesty Declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State and Judges, shall likewise extend to his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And now his Majesty having so fully and clearly expressed his Intentions and desires of making a happy and wel-grounded Peace, if any person shall decline that happiness by opposing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he will sufficiently demonstrate to all the world his intention and Designe can be no other, then the totall subversion and change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom under which the English Nation hath so long flourished.

Given at the Court at Oxford the 29 of Jan. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
To be Communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.*

HIS Majesties care and pains in the former part of this Message was wholly *ineffectuall* to the ends intended, for as if they had secretly vowed (as perhaps they have) to go contrary to Him, and *Christian Religion* in every thing, they took advantage from this very *businessse of Ireland*, (thus disclaimed by the King) to slander Him further and defame Him: to which purpose they published soon after certain Papers with this Title, *The Earl of Glamorgans negotiations, and colourable Commitment in Ireland*, that thereby it might be apprehended the King (like themselves)

selves) had dissembled, in all He had said or writ about that matter. And in their late *Declaration* they most impudently affirm, that His Majesty gave a *private Commission* to the said Earl, commanding him to manage it *with all possible secrecie*, and it contained (say they) such odious and shamefull things, as Himself blusht to owne, or to impart to His own Lieutenant, the Earl of Ormond: this they write upon their own testimony, as if they had been eye and ear witnesses of the same, and all the world were bound to believe them: *sed Deus vindex*, God shall judge and revenge too upon them, the cause of His Anointed, to whom His Gospel commands *Honour*, and themselves have often sworn *Reverence*.

And as His Majesty in the former was ineffectual, so His grace in the latter part of this Message was altogether fruitlesse; for though Subjects (if Subjects) were they never so guilty, could wish for no more then is there offered; for there is *Liberty* for their Consciences, *Safety* for their Persons, *Security* for their Estates, *Greatnesse* for their Desires, and *Peace* to increase all, and all this but for leave to let the rest of His people (their fellow-Subjects, as good men as themselves, and much better,) live in peace by them; yet all will not do, nothing will work upon them, for (like Pope Boniface the 8. of that name) they came in like Foxes, and therefore mean to live like Lions, though they die like Dogs, so that Rebellion we see is a *sin unpardonable* (like that against the Holy Ghost) not because it cannot, but because it will not be forgiven.

His Majesty after the sending this last Message of the 29. of January tarryes a moneth longer even till Feb. 28. in expectation of somewhat from them in Answer to His longing desires, and then though He was apprehensive how He had (by His often sending) hazarded His Honour to be questioned, as well as His proper interests to be divided or divorced from Him, yet to declare further still to all the world, that His Peoples Preservation was more dear to Him then both, He doth once again in their behalf importune these men for the Blessing of Peace, in these words,

His Majesties ninth Message.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty needs to make no excuse, though He sent no more Messages unto you: for He very well knows He ought not to doe it, if He either stood upon punctilio's of Honour, or His own private interest; the one being already call'd in question by His often sending; and the other assuredly prejudg'd if a Peace be concluded from that He hath already offered, He having therein departed with many of His undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto him, to the preservation of his people, his Majesty passeth by many scruples, neglects and delaies, and once more desires you to give him a speedy Answer to his last Message; for his Majesty believes it doth very well become him (after this very long delay) at last to utter his impatience, since that the goods and bloud of his Subjects cries so much for Peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 26 of Febr. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
To be Communicated to the two Houses of Parli-
ament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of
the Parliament of Scotland.*

AS Christs meekness and mighty works made his Enemies more obdurate, so the Kings mildness and many Messages made these men more obstinate, who are as dumb to this last, as to the former: And though His Majesty tells them that the Goods and bloud of His Subjects doth cry so much for Peace, that He shall be forced thereby to utter His impatience, yet these hard-hearted men had rather hear those sad and lamentable cries, then listen to these

warnings;

yearnings of their fathers *Bowells*; nay, and they must be call'd and accounted *Patriots* of their Country for all this, and He, who is thus tenderly affected towards it, (in this its bleeding Condition) must be reckoned and reported the *Common Enemy* unto it: for they are not ashamed (notwithstanding these His many paintings and breathings after the Health of it) to appropriate unto Him their own *Tigerly* dispositions, and to tell the whole world in the first page of their late impudent *Declaration*, that neither the *fighs*, *Groans*, *tears*, nor *crying aloud*, an heavy cry (*say they*) of *Fathers*, *Brothers*, *Children*, and of many hundred thousand free-born *Subjects* at once, can perswade Him to pity or Compassion: Surely could Satan help them to devise worse evill then is in themselves, or then they have acted to cast upon the King, these His *Humble and Loyal Subjects* would not be so void of shame as thus to charge Him with their owne doings and Conditions.

Well, His Majesty after He had sent this last Message, waits yet another moneth for some Answer, though to as little purpose as before, He did but pursue the shadow that fled from Him, by seeking peace at their hands, for they were resolved by *slighting* Him, to make him desist at length from writing thus to them. But behold the true Image of our most *patient* God, in this our most *Christian King*, who having to do with a like stiff-necked and rebellious people, as he of old had, thinks it His duty to follow him still in the same path, though with as little comfort or hopes of prevailing; and hereupon sends the *tenth* time, and offer to come, and trust Himself wholly with them, if He might but have their own faith and promise for the *safety* of His Person, Honour and Estate, which themselves had so solemnly protested to defend; and that His friends (who had done according to their Duty and *Protestation*) might not (for the same) be deprived of their *Liberties* or *estates*, but enjoy both, with a *freedom* of Conscience from unlawful Oaths: upon these sole Conditions He will pardon and forget all that was past on their sides, giving them what security themselves can devise, He will follow their advise (for the good of His People) rather then other mens; and in a word, He will grant them as much, as till then they had ever desired, or made pretence unto, and all to procure a speedy Peace to these Afflicted Kingdoms. His words are these,

His

His Majesties tenth Message.

CHARLS R.

NOrwithstanding the unexpected silence in stead of Answer to his Majesties many and gracious Messages to both Houses, whereby it may appear, that they desire to obtain their ends by Force, rather then Treaty, which may justly discourage his Majesty from any more overtures of that kind, yet his Majesty conceives He shall be much wanting to His duty to God, and in what He oweth to the safety of His people if He should not intend to prevent the great inconveniences that may otherwise hinder a safe and wel-grounded peace. His Majesty therefore now proposeth, that, so He may have the faith of both Houses of Parliament for the preservation of His Honour, Person, and Estate; and that Liberty be given to all those who do and have adhered to His Majesty to go to their own Houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their Estates, all Sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever, He will immediately disband all His Forces, and dismantle all His Garrisons, and being accompanied with His Royall, not His Martiall Attendance, return to His two Houses of Parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better security of all His Majesties Subjects, He proposeth that He with His said two Houses immediately upon His coming to *Westminster* will passe an Act of Oblivion and free pardon, and where His Majesty will further do whatsoever they will advise Him

Him for the good and peace of this Kingdom. And as for the Kingdom of *Scotland* His Majesty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great losse of time which must now be spent in expecting an Answer from thence, but declares that, immediately upon His coming to *Westminster*, He will apply Himself to give them all satisfaction touching that Kingdome. If His Majesty could possibly doubt the successe of this offer, He could use many arguments to perswade them to it; but shall only insist on that great One of giving an instant Peace to these afflicted Kingdoms.

Given at our Court at Oxford, the 23 of March, 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
to be Communicated to the two Houses of Parli-
ament at Westminster.*

AS God said, *what could I have done more for my vineyard which I have not done?* so may this good Prince say, what could I have offered more for the Peace of my afflicted People, which I have not offered? These men (that will accept of nothing) tell the world in their late *Declaration*, that themselves had made Application to Him for Peace, no lesse then seven times (*scil.* in seven years.) But the world hath now seen, that His Majesty hath made Applications to them for the same thing, no lesse then ten times in lesse then four moneths, and in another form and stile too, then theirs were to Him, and not one word in Answer can He get from them; yea for Peace sake He offers to venture Himself among them, but they'l none of Him, He would come to His owne (as they call themselves) but His owne will not receive Him.

It shall not be amisse, if the world, to whom the appeal is made, shall call to minde in this place, some few of their many former solemn professions which are directly contradicted by these their present behaviours; let their *Protestation* or *Declara-*

tion of *Octob. 22. 1642.* be read, and therein they will finde these expressions.

We the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, doe in the presence of Almighty God, for the satisfaction of our Consciences, and discharge of that great trust which lies upon us, make this Protestation and Declaration to this Kingdome and Nation, and to the whole World, that no private passion or respect, no evill intention to His Majesties Person, no designe to the prejudice of His just Honour and Authority ingaged us to raise forces, and take up Armes, &c.

And againe,

We professe from our very Hearts and Souls, our Loyalty and Obedience to His Crown; readinesse and resolution to defend His Person, and support His Estate with our lives and fortunes, to the uttermost of our power.

Againe,

We professe, we desire nothing from His Majesty, but that He would returne in Peace to His Parliament.

And againe,

We professe in the sight of Almighty God, which is the strongest obligation that a Christian, and the most solemn publicke faith, which any such State as a Parliament can give; that we would receive Him with all Honour, yeild Him all true obedience and subjection, and faithfully endeavour to defend His Person and Estate from all danger, and to the utmost of our power to stablish Him, and His people all the blessings of a most Glorious and Happy Raign, &c.

Surely they, who shall compare these Professions, with the present Carriages of them that made them, will conclude them the vilest *Atheists* that ever lived; and beleieve that they used these *Protestations* only, to gull and seduce the well meaning *Common-people*, that so they might cheat them of their Monies, and engage them with themselves in wayes of *Treason, Blond and Rebellion*, to the destruction of their *Religion, King and Country*: But verily there is a God that judgeth the Earth, and that these mockers of Him shall feel ere long, for the day of their *Calamity* is at Hand, and the things that are coming upon them make hast.

Wel, his Maj. after he had sent this His tenth Message for Peace, & waited another month and more, for an Answer thereof, having under-

understood by their former unworthy *Paper* of the 13 of *Jan.* (and being confirmed also, by their silence to all His *Propers*) that no admittance would be granted to Him, though He came alone; for as at the approach of Christ, the *Devill* raged and tore the party possessed; so did jealousies and guilty fears rend and torment them at the Apprehension of His presence, or access unto them; and therefore, till He should first consent to such *Propositions* as they would at their further leisure send unto Him; He must not come near them, unless He be brought by the *Souldiers* before them, as Christ was into the *High Priests Hall*, viz. in the nature of a *Prisoner*: & indeed to this purpose, while they think to delude Him, still with a further expectation of *Propositions* (which they never meant should be seen at *Oxford*;) they send thither as fast as they can, all their Armies and Bands of Souldiers, with *Guns* and *Swords*, and *Staves* for to take Him; concluding with themselves, that He would surely fall into the Hand of their *Strong ones*, and could not possibly escape them: But God was too hard for them, He seeing their mischeivous intentions, inclined the Heart of His Majesty to goe, and protected Him safe in going to the *Scottish Army*: where so soon as He came, (that all might see His desires of Peace, were not capable of abatement) He falls againe to His old work of soliciting for the same; and offers to these unreasonable men, all that ever was desired to give them content: He refers to them and their Divines the settling of Religion; He consents the *Militia* to be at their disposal, His Forces to be disbanded, His Townes and Garrisons dismantled and deserted, and what ever else had been formerly in dispute betwixt them; and if these would not be now accepted, because offered by Him, (though formerly desired by them) He wills them to find their long promised Propositions, or at least, those of them which were agreed upon, being resolved to comply in every thing, as shall but appear to Him, to be for His *Subjects* happiness: And notwithstanding all the contempts they had shewn Him, and affronts put upon Him; He still hath, or desires to have so good an opinion of them, that He will not question their good acceptation of these His offers, since He makes no conditions with them for Himselfe, but is content to leave His own Honour and *Lawfull* Rights, solely to their care and gratitude to

maintain unto Him: Let all men read (without admiration if they can at the Kings Christianity and goodnesse) this which follows: how in very deed He yeilds up *His will and Affections, His Reason, Judgment,* and all for the obtaining a good peace or accommodation with these Stubborn men unto His poor and afflicted people.

His Majesties eleventh Message.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty having understood from both His Houses of Parliament, that it was not safe for him to come to *London* (whither he had purposed to repair, if so he might, by their advice to do whatsoever may be best for the good and peace of these Kingdoms) untill he shall first give his consent to such Propositions, as were to be presented to him from them: And being certainly informed that the Armies were marching so fast up to *Oxford*, and made that no fit place for Treating, did resolve to withdraw himself hither, only to secure his own Person, and with no intention to continue this War any longer, or to make any division between his two Kingdoms, but to give such contentment to both, as, by the blessing of God, he might see a happy and wel-grounded Peace, thereby to bring Prosperity to these Kingdoms, answerable to the best times of his Progenitors.

And since the settling of Religion ought to be the chiefest care of all Councils, his Majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two Houses of Parliament all the waies and means possible, for speedy finishing this pious & necessary work; and particularly, that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at *Westminster*.

Westminster. Likewise concerning the *Militia of England*, for securing his people against all pretensions of danger, his Majesty is pleased to have it settled as was offered at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, all the Persons being to be named for the Trust by the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, for the space of seven years, and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as shall be agreed upon by his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Wars in *Ireland*, his Majesty will do whatsoever is possible for him, to give full satisfaction therein.

And if these be not satisfactory, his Majesty then desires that all such of the Propositions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms may be speedily sent unto him; his Majesty being resolved to comply with his Parliament in every thing that shall be for the happiness of his Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have produced so many sad effects.

His Majesty having made these offers, he will neither question the thankfull acceptance of them; nor doth he doubt but that his two Kingdoms will be carefull to maintain him in his Honour, and in his just and lawfull Rights, which is the only way to make a happy composition of these unnaturall Divisions. And likewise will think upon a solid way of conserving the Peace between the two Kingdoms for time to come. And will take a speedy course for easing and quieting his afflicted people by satisfying the Publike debts, by disbanding of all Armies, and whatsoever else shall be judged conducive to that end: that so, all hinderances being removed, he may return to his Parliament with mutuall comfort.

Southwell, May 18. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

His Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of blood, and to evidence His reall intentions to Peace, is willing that His Forces in, and about Oxford be disbanded, and the fortifications of the City dismantled, they receiving honourable conditions. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, His Majesty will give the like order to the rest of the Garrisons.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, To be Communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

THis Message from His Majesty out of the *Scots* Quarters, though as full of *Grace* as could be wished, found as little respect as any of the former, and was thought as unworthy of an Answer; for indeed it spake (to their great grief) the escape of that rich *prey* which was already swallowed in their Expectations, yea and an impossibility of getting it into their reach again with so little cost and pains as they hoped before to be possessed of it: for they conceived the frugall *Scot* was not like to part with his *Liege Lord*, and native King for nothing; nor be so easily beaten from hence to their own home, as was intended they should have been, so soon as the Kings Person had been seized on at *Oxford*: for His Majesties Presence, like the Glorious Sun, drew thousands of Eyes upon His Country-men, and would have fetch'd as many hearts and hands to their Assistance, had they but then stood up in defence of Him. This they at *Westminster* well knew, and hereupon saw, that a kind of necessity lay on them, to shuffle again, and after another fashion then before was purposed: to play the *Foxes* in stead of the *Lions* with their *dear Brethren*: and therefore they begin at last to think of doing that, which till now they never intended, though often promised: even of sending *Propositions* to the King: which on *July 24.* (two months

months after their receipt of this last Message of May 18.) arrived at Him, under the name of *Propositions for Peace*: but the contrivers of them, had in their Provident care made them so perfectly monstrous and unreasonable, that themselves remained sure still of being out of all danger of Effecting Peace by them: in very deed they were only used to gain time and opportunity to recover their lost prey, and to delude the *Scots*, who were not then so well acquainted with their spirits, as (perhaps) since they have been, or at least may be, before a period be put to these troubles. Those *Propositions* of theirs were as tedious as senseless, for what they wanted in reason, was made up in words, they have been published already, and therefore we shall not here trouble the Reader with them, there be Copies enow extant of them, which whosoever views, will think the Kingdom might have imployed their many hundred thousand pounds better, then in maintaining so many men, and so many Armies so many months together, in doing nothing but making such uncouth *Propositions*. By this insuing Message of his Majesty in Answer to them, within a week after His receipt of them, the world (were it ignorant of them) might have a glimpse of what kind they were, and of what spirit those that sent them.

His Majesties twelfth Message.

CHARLES R.

THe Propositions tendered to His Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons Assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many Monthes for deliberation, as they have assigned dayes for his Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdome, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer before a full debate, wherein

wherein these Propositions and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty upon a full view of the whole Propositions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed, In all which he finds (upon discourse with the said Commissioners that they are so bound up from any capacity, either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present judgement of, & Answer to these Propositions, whereby he can Answer to God that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the world can never be, unlesse the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedome and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and priviledges of the Parliament be likewise settled) To which end his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of his houses thereabouts upon the publick faith, and security of the two houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, That he shall be there with freedome, honour, and safety, where by his personall presence he may not only raise a mutuall confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have these doubts cleared, and these difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be destructive to his just regall power, if he shall give a full consent to these Propositions as they now stand.

As likewise, that he make known to them, such his reasonable demands as he is most assured will be very much conducible to that Peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and his Majesty assures them that

as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the laws of God and the Land he is born unto; So he wil cheerfully grant, and give his assent unto all such Bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland*, which shall be really for the good and Peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much lesse of any bodies else) in respect of the happinesse of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of bloud may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

Newcastle, August 1. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

Upon assurance of a happy agreement, His Majesty will immediately send for the Prince His Son, absolutely expecting His perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom,

To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated.

BY this Message the Readers may observe, that the contrivers of those *Propositions*, though themselves were many, and had employed all their craft, (which was not little) 8 Months together (as they pretended) in the framing of them, yet were perswaded (as it seems) that His Majesty alone, in regard of His clear *wisdom*, *sincerity*, and *honesty* of Heart; was able in three or four dayes to Answer them fully; and therefore they assigned him no longer time to deliberate on them: or else they supposed that His Maj. in His eagernesse of minde to obtain *Peace*, so oft & earnestly writ for by Him, would blindly and suddainly consent without more adoe, to what ever (on that condition) they asked

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of

His Majesties most Gracious

of Him : for as crafty Chapmen will enhance the price (beyond all reason) of that Commodity they have to sell, when they see a Customer fond of it ; so did these men deal with their King : He had fully manifested a most fervent desire of procuring quiet to His people, by His many *Messages* & large *Offers*, wherein He had shewed a readinesse to yeild up His own *Rights*, or (to speak in their phrase) *His will* and *Affections*, yea, and *His Reason* and *Judgement* too, for the purchase of it : So it were reall and good : Whereupon, perhaps they fancied that He would not stick to resigne up His *Conscience* also, (upon their demand) together with the *Rights* of His *Crown* (to which He was born) and the *trust* committed to Him by God and the Law, over the *lives* and *Estates* of all His Subjects, into those Hands which have been exercised in nothing this seven years, but *Bloud*, *Rapine*, and *Oppression*, without any probability of recovering the same againe to Himselfe, or His successors.

For, indeed they are now come to that pitch of the *pinacle*, that unlesse the King will condescend to *cast Himself down*, to destroy himself, and to ruine *Monarchy*, no concessions of His shall please them, nor shall his many *Messages* and large *offers* obtaine *peace* from them unto his people ; who may themselves judge of what kinde it would be, (by that experience they have had of them already) if the King should yeild so far, as to lay down his life and Crown for the purchase.

But God be thanked, our King is no *Child*, nor false *Shepherd* ; but a *man after Gods own Heart*, and a very *Moses*, though meeke and patient to admiration in his own case, (throughout all his dealings with this stiff-necked and rebellious generation;) yet most *valiant* and *magnanimous* in the Cause of God, and most faithfull in the discharge of that trust reposed in Him : our Saviour would rather suffer himself to be *no Man*, then yeild himself to be *no King* ; he would rather part with his *life*, then his *Kingship*, and so will our Sovereign : and therefore our God (we trust) will preserve both, for the further Happiness, yet of this Church and Nation.

But let's observe His Majesties goodnesse towards these men, in this His *Message* or *Answer* to their *Propositions* : He was ashamed (as seemeth) that the world should take full notice of
their

their impiety and unreasonableness in them; and therefore was pleased to shadow the same (in a measure) from the worlds eye, by impleading the difficulty of understanding the said Propositions for want of necessary explanations, as if there had been, or might haply be more Justice and Reason in them, then was apparent (when indeed there was more mischief then could be easily beleevd:) And this he alledgeth as the cause of his not returning particular Answers to them; and in truth, there is much ambiguity and darkness in them, which the Contrivers were studious and carefull to leave in their composing of them, that thereby themselves might still have evasions, and occasions to raise cavills, what ever His Majesties Answer should be unto them: to which end also they were provident to Bind up their Commissioners tongues from speaking any such word in way of discourse, as might discover to the King their further meanings.

Wherefore his Majesty finding it impossible to returne such a plenary Answer, as in His Conscience might be justifiable in Gods sight, or conductive to a safe and well-grounded peace; he proposeth again his own coming to London, to treat with them, and (for the avoiding of all mistakes) to hear them explaine their own meanings; and engages himself to give his cheerfull assent to all such Bills as shall be really to the good and peace of His people, and to prefer the Happinesse of this Kingdome, before His own particular; and as a mean to work a confidence in them, of His own sincerity in these things; he offers again to trust them with no lesse then his own Person; and conjures them, as they are Christians, as they are Subjects, and as they are men, who desire to leave a good name behinde them, so to receive, & make use of this His Answer, that all issues of Blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

But (as appears) neither the Dignity of Christians, the Duty of Subjects, nor the Credit of a good Name will prevaile with them, any more then his Majesties former Messages and Intreaties had done; for they had (as it seemes) renounced and rejected them all before hand, and therefore without taking any notice of this Conjurati^on of their Sovereign, or of any thing else which he had writ unto them in the whole Message; they go on silently, and resolutely, in that way which themselves had chosen.

which His Majesty observing after some months patient expectation, bent His thoughts to the making some *particular Answers* to the fore-mentioned *Propositions*, desiring (if possible) to give them content : but upon His most serious consideration on them, He found that He did but labour in vain, for He could not speak so unto them, but some (who lay in wait for that purpose) would mis-construe and pervert His sayings to a contrary sence, unlesse Himself were present among them to *paraphrase upon his owne words*, and explain His meaning, wherefore He hoping that Gods grace and spirit might at last (peradventure) have some footing in their minds, He rather chuseth to propose again by another Message (five months after the former) *His own coming unto them*, and renues His *former offers*, discovering thereby that notwithstanding their transcendent neglects and contempts of Him, yet He was still as constant in His *good intentions* to them, as they were in their *ill resolutions* against Him : His words are these.

His Majesties thirteenth Message.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesties thoughts being alwaies sincerely bent to the Peace of His Kingdoms, was & will be ever desirous to take all waies which might the most cleerly make appear the candour of His intentions to His people. And to this end, could find no better way then to propose a Personall free debate with His two Houses of Parliament upon all the present differences. Yet finding very much against His expectations, that this offer was laid aside, His Majesty bent all His thoughts to make His intentions fully known by a particular Answer to the Propositions delivered to Him in the name of both Kingdomes, 24. *July* last. But the more He endeavoured it, He more plainly saw that any Answer He could make would be subject to mis-informations

mations and mis-constructions, which upon His owne Paraphrases and Explanations He is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtlesse cause a happy and lasting Peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, His Majesty again proposeth, and desires again to come to *London*, or any of His Houses thereabouts, upon the Publike Faith and Security of His two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, that He shall be there with Honour, Freedome, and Safety: Where, by His Personall Presence, He may not only raise a mutuall confidence betwixt Him and His People, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to Him, without which He cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniencies) give a particular Answer to the Propositions: And with which He doubts not, but so to manifest His reall intentions for the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the Freedome and Property of the Subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm Peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as He will make no other Demands but such as He believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the Tranquility of the People: So He will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happinesse. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just Power of the Crown, according to your many Protestations and professions. For certainly, except King and People have reciprocall care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your *King* who desires to be heard, (the which, if refused to a Subject by a King, he would

be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men profess to desire. Wherefore His Majesty conjures you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you profess, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this His Offer, which He is confident God will so bless, that it will be the readiest means by which these Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their Friends, and a terrour to their Enemies.

Newcastle, 20. Decemb. 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

WHat man can read without tears, these *pathetick* desires and expressions of His Sovereigne, only *to be Heard*, and that but *to Speak* and plead by word of mouth, for the peace and tranquility of His people, sith His many *Messages* by writing (to this purpose) were not regarded? sure these Persons have hearts *harder then the neither Mil-stone*, they have forgot themselves to be, either *Christians, Subjects, or men*; but doubtlesse the time will come, when *they*, who thus stop their ears at the requests of their King, shall themselves cry, *and not be heard*, and no man shall pity them. His Majesty we see, refuses nothing which may tend to the *setling of Religion, the freedom of Parliament, and property of the Subjects*: He denies no pardon, security, or indemnity, to these His Enemies, (that *will not have Him to reign over them*) if they would accept it: His own *rights* He'll refer to them to be settled, as may be to the Kingdoms good, as to His own; in a probable continuation of Gods blessing upon the same, as upon himself: His *Person* He offers to their *trust*, and the just *power* of His Crown to their *care*; nor is He willing so much as to doubt of their due regard in maintaining the same unto Him, according to their many Protestations and professions.

And nothing doth He desire for Himself (in lieu of all this) but only

only leave to *speak*, liberty to be *heard*, which Himself in His prosperity *never denied to the meanest Person*, though the greatest Malefactor : Let all the world with admiration think upon it, and judge in the case, what Prince can offer more, then He hath done ? or what man can desire lesse ? what Christian spirit doth not *rise* to see Piety and Majesty thus slighted, and despised ? what Subjects bloud doth not *boyle* to hear his Sovereigne forced for the purchase of so *little*, to offer so *much* unto His own *Vassals*, and yet be repulsed and rejected by them ? should *Turks* and *Heathens* behold this, they would be *inraged* ; could the inferiour *Creatures* apprehend it, even they would grow furious at it : surely, this is, and may be, a matter of astonishment to the whole earth, for (as the Prophet saies) *Passé over the Isles, send to other Lands, inquire of all Nations*, search all stories of former and later times, consider diligently, and *see Well, if there be, or ever were any such thing*, or ever the like heard of, from the beginning of time : Did ever people thus exclude their King, or thus vilely use him ? set but that act of the Jews aside against our Saviour, and this example may be affirmed to be *Sans parallel* : never did Subjects make larger *protestations* and *professions* of love and duty, and never could *Devils* go more contrary unto the same then these *men* have done : let but *those their words* already quoted (upon the tenth Message) be seriously considered on, and of necessity it will be concluded, that *Hell* is not more opposite to *Heaven*, nor *darknesse* to *lights*, then their *carriages* are, and have been unto those *expressions* : and so it seems 'tis resolved they shall be still, for His Majesties conjuring them to *shew themselves really to be what they professed*, no whit moves them to shew themselves any other then they *really are* : now they have catch'd the fish, cheated the people, enslaved the Nation, got their owne ends, the power into their hands to keep all men under, they may sling away their *baits*, throw off their *vizards*, cast aside their *disguises*, and appear freely in their proper shapes and colours : All their solemn *Protestations* and *professions* were of the same nature and tenure, with their *solemn League and Covenant*, which (as *Martin* himself, one of their prime birds, openly saies) *was not intended to be everlastingly kept* ; the causes of making them being but as the grounds of striking that, *meerly occasionall, for the joyning in a War to suppress*

suppress the Common Enemy (for so now they call the King) and *He being suppressed*, what are the *Protestations* and *professions* come to be, but as the *Covenant* it self is, only like an *Almanack* of last year, of no more regard or estimation, witness *Hen. Martin*, p. 11. of *Independency* of England maintain'd against the claim of the *Scotch Commissioners*.

In vain therefore did His Majesty (by mentioning their former *Protestations* and *professions*) put them in mind of things out of date ; and to as little purpose did He again desire to come to *London in Safety and Honour*, for they could not hear on that side ; indeed they were otherwise busied at that time, even trucking to get Him into their power another way, then that was which He propounded : for have Him they would, they were resolved on that, what ere it cost them ; and they meant to receive Him too, but not in that manner as He desired, not *with Safety*, but *into safe custody*, from injoying *his Liberty*; not *with Honour* to Him, but *in triumph* to themselves ; not as their *Prince*, but as their *Prisoner* : even directly as the *Jews* at length received *Christ*, not as the *gift* of his own *free love*, but as the *price* of their own *base money* ; So that His Majesty saw ere long (after His sending the last Message) a perfect frustration, both of it, and all His former, and that Himself had somewhat else to do, beside begging *peace* unto His people, and *Liberty of Speech* unto Himself : for freedom of Conscience to serve God, after the legall and established way of the true *Protestant English Church*, is now denied Him, as an additionall punishment to His outward restraint, which now also is layed upon Him, for being so importunate for His Subjects freedome from *war* and *pressures*.

Holdenby is the place of His inclofement, He was *carried* thither, as *Christ* into the *wildernesse* to be tempted ; and kept there with as much care from *spirituall* food, as *Christ* was from *bodily*, and that not forty daies together only, but above three times forty ; and under temptations all the while : Master *Marshall* and his fellow *Minister* being chose out to act Satans part upon Him : for having been so specially instrumentall in destroying the Souls of His People, and in stirring them up to kill each other, they were judged the fittest in the whole *Legion* to assault Him : And all the helps to vexation and trouble, that the *Heads at Westminster*

minster could think upon, these *Tempters* had for their advantage : But the Spirit of God was so strong in this *Royall Champion*, that they were not able to stand before Him, nor to resist the wisdom and Learning by which He spake, insomuch that as they in the Gospel were forced to confesse, whether they would or no, that Christ was the Son of God, though before they had laboured to obscure him : so were these, even compelled against their own wills to acknowledge in secret, among their friends, that the King was a most able, judicious Prince, and the wisest man in all His Kingdoms, clean contrary to that, which they had often blattered in Pulpits against Him before the People. And Master Marshall at last, was so tormented with His Majesties Divinity and Reason, by being so neer him, that he wished to be in the Herd again (his more proper place) where he was likely to effect more mischief, and therefore besought his Masters at Westminster, to be recall'd from Holdenby, or sent no more thither.

But though His Majesty was able enough of Himself to encounter these, yet for the better exercise of His Conscience in pious duties, and for the further clearing of His judgment concerning the present differences, He desires to have two from out of twelve of His own Chaplains to attend upon Him, which He desires His two Houses to make choice of, and send to Him ; in these words,

His Majesties fourteenth Message.

His Majesties gracious Message to both Houses of Parliament, concerning His Chaplains.

Since I have never dissembled, nor hid my Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire my consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for me to be attended by some of my Chaplains, whose opinions, as Clergy men, I esteem and reverence ; not only for the exercise of my Conscience, but also for clearing of my
I judgment

judgment concerning the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Master *Marshall* and his *Fellow-Minister*: having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times: Whereby the distractions of this Church may be the better settled. Wherefore I desire that, at least, two of these *Reverend Divines*, whose names I have here set down, may have free liberty to wait upon me, for the discharge of their duty unto me, according to their function.

CHARLS R.

Holdenby, 17. Febr. 1646.

B. <i>London.</i>	}	D. <i>Sanderfon.</i>
B. <i>Salisbury.</i>		D. <i>Baily.</i>
B. <i>Peterborough.</i>		D. <i>Heywood.</i>
D. <i>Shelden</i> , Clerk of my		D. <i>Beale.</i>
Closet.		D. <i>Fuller.</i>
D. <i>Marsh</i> , Deane of		D. <i>Hammond.</i>
York.		D. <i>Taylor.</i>

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.*

THE matter of this Message or thing desired therein, is *freedom of Conscience*, and the necessary means to serve God, according to the Doctrine and way of the *English Church*.

The Person from whom the request comes, is the King of this Nation, the *Supremest Defender* under God upon Earth of the *Protestant Faith*, who never denied the exercise of it to any creature. And the Men to whom the same is sent, are the most open *Protesters* that ever were for freedom and Liberty in this kind, and that to all men: and the most violent exchaimers against those that restrain any: yea and they are such beside as call themselves

selves His Majesties most Humble and Loyall Subjects: therefore it may be thought a thing impossible, that this request should not be granted: specially too, if we do but observe how CHARLES R. appears below, submissively at the bottome, (now He moves for a private matter, and as a Christian) which is wont alway when He writes about *publike* and *Kingly Affairs* to stand above, in its proper place, before the beginning.

Oh but these are rare men, they never denied themselves yet, but the King ever, it cannot be said to this day, that they have yielded to Him, in the least particular, since they there sat, and should they begin now to break their old wont? so they might seem to halt in their resolved course, and He might haply flatter Himself too much in hoping they meant to look towards Him: wherefore though all men else, have leave to be of what Religion they list, & to worship God after what fashion they please; yet He for His part shall not be suffered to have the means to serve him the true way, nor to heare the Doctrine of that Church which themselves as well as He, were baptized into, and have protested to maintain: and thereupon having practised long to hold their peace to His other Messages, they resolve upon silence to this also, and return nothing: But His Majesty being wel (and too wel) acquainted with such usage from their hands, and being as *patient*, as they were *peevish*: as unwearied in good, as they in *evill*, doth in a most calm and Christian manner renew His request for the same thing seventeen daies after, in these words:

His Majesties fifteenth Message.

His Majesties second Message to both Houses of Parliament, concerning His Chaplains.

IT being now seventeen daies since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not thus

at this time trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended with some of my Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for me, even considering my present condition, whether it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlement of the present distractions in Religion, that I will slight divers kinds of censures, rather then not to obtain what I demand; nor shall I do you the wrong, as in this, to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being totally grounded upon reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needfull to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of, or be altered in, any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in Argument, but to seek and submit to Truth (according to that judgment which God hath given me) alwaies holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two Houses of Parliament in all things, which, I conceive, not to be against my conscience or honour; not doubting likewise but that you will be ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

CHARLES R.

Holdenby, 6. March, 1646.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
to be Communicated to the two Houses of Parlia-
ment at Westminster.*

AS an evill man out of the evill treasure of his heart, bringeth forth evill things; such are causelesse Jealousies, railing Accusations, and evill surmizings against the good: So a good man out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things: such are favourable opinions, meek expressions, and charitable constructions; and from hence it was that His Majesty writes in this manner to, and of these men: as if He still hoped there might possibly be some good sparks of *grace, nature, or manners* in them: for as they cannot believe Him to be *so good, as He is*: so He cannot yet fancy them *so bad, as they be*, and mean to prove themselves: He tels them, in this His Message, that *He would not have troubled them at this time, with any of His desires, did not this particular concern the necessary duty of a Christian, and relate so neerly to His Conscience*: conceiving (as it seems) that they would be the more inclinable in this regard, whereas (alas) their dispositions are to be the more *averse*: their aimes being (as hath appeared by all their dealings) to *destroy His Conscience*, and to keep Him from serving God at all: Have they not often said unto Him in their language, (*Go serve other Gods?*) they would at least occasion a strangeness, betwixt His God and Him: that God might be further off from His assistance, and so His spirit might sink more under the Burdens which they lay upon Him: they have not forgot *Balaams* project against the *Israelites*, and fain would they put it in practice upon their King: for they well see, they shall never be able to do Him the mischief they intend, while God is with Him, in this mighty manner to guide and strengthen Him: and therefore they must first endeavour to bring Him out with His God; and since, by all their compulsions and temptations they cannot prevail to drive Him upon *commissions* of evill, they would fain force Him to be guilty of some *omissions* of good, and keep Him from performing the *necessary duties of a Christian*, and therefore they will not suffer Him to enjoy the *service of His own Chaplains*.

Again, His Majesty desires to have *their service*, as means relating to an happy settlement of the present distractions in Religion, and as necessary helps to His Conscience in the Consideration of those Alterations in the same, which had been already, and He knew would still be offered unto Him: and this He urgeth as another Argument

ment of His wish or desire, and it being *totally grounded upon Reason*, He saies *He doubts not to obtain it from them.*

But His Majesty hath since found, that His *Charity* was much mistaken in this too : and indeed 'tis the greatest wrong that ere He did them, *His thinking so well of them*, as to conceive Himself likely to obtain any of His *requests* at their hands, because *grounded upon Reason* ; or to hope for any helps from their allowance, towards the settlement of the present distractions in Religion : for should they yeild to undoe their own work ? did not they make all these distractions in Church and State ? were any of them in being before they sat ? do they not live by them ? could they enjoy their power, and Lord it as they do, if things were settled in Religion ? would not all things return to their proper channels, if *that* were well composed ? no, no, if these be the Kings ends of desiring His Chaplains, He must learn to know (at length) that they have more subtilty, and self-love in them, then to listen to Him. Let Him rest contented therefore in this particular, He must enter the lists, *and fight the Bataile himself alone* ; for they are resolved to put Him to it, *of His friends*, (or people) *there shall be none with Him* ; no not so much as one of *His own Chaplains* : And whereas He promises *not to strive for villory in Argument, but to seek and submit to Truth* : He must know, that they do not look for victory that way against Him, yet they mean to have it too, & that without any *seeking or submitting to truth* at all for it.

And He may for His part (if He please) hold it His best and greatest conquest, *to give contentment to His two Houses of Parliament in all things that are not against His Conscience and Honour* : yet they who are the domineering faction in His two Houses, (and call themselves the Parliament) will still hold it *their best and greatest conquest*, to discontent and vex His spirit : nor will they think their *Conquest* compleat, unless they can prevail, to inforce some breaches upon *His Conscience and Honour* : and therefore He may even cease from henceforth, thus to fancy any readinesse in them, to satisfie His desires in *any reasonable thing*, for they will not do it in this poor particular, concerning *the Attendance of His Chaplains* upon Him.

These, these are the men that contemn God, that say in their hearts, *Tush, God seeth not* : nor doth he regard such things, nor will

will He ever require an account for them : *'But thou dost see, and thou hast seen (O Lord) for thou beholdest mischief and sought to requite it with thine hand,* O keep not long silence therefore, be not far off from thine Anointed ; Stir up thy self, and awake to his Judgment, and unto His cause, *thou art his God, thou (alone) art his Lord ;* Judge thou for Him according to thy righteousness, and let not these miscreant men triumph any longer over Him, let them not say in their hearts, *Ah ! so would we have it.* Let them not say, we have swallowed him up, let them be ashamed and brought to confusion together that rejoice at his hurt, yea let them be clothed with shame and dishonour that magnified themselves against Him : but let them shout for joy, and ever have cause to be glad, that favour His righteous cause, yea let them say continually, *Let the Lord be magnified which hath pleasure in the prosperity of His servant.* Amen. Amen.

His Majesty at last (having waited two months for Answer) was sufficiently informed by their silence, how vainly He laboured in soliciting for His *Chaplains*, and thereupon forbears to be further importunate in that business ; it concerned His own particular *self* and *comfort*, and He can more easily desist in pursuing a thing of *that* nature ; then in seeking for a blessing which more immediately concerns His people, and therefore though His request for *Peace* had been rejected thirteen times already, in less than thirteen months, yet He cannot hold from renewing that : yea though they had frustrated His expectation a long time, in not sending such Propositions as they had promised, or given Him hopes to receive, for His more full and clear understanding their sense in the former, and did also keep His Person, in so unworthy, so unheard of, and so provocative a Condition, as might have swell'd with stoutness the mildest heart, and awaken'd passion (had it not been dead) in a very Martyr, yet with the greatest meekness and sweetness of stile that can be imagined doth He write unto them again, and sends most gracious Answers to their former unreasonable Propositions, after He had diligently endeavoured and studied divers moneths how to make them such, as (*salva conscientia*) might be most agreeable to the likings of His Parliament. His words are these,

His

His Majesties sixteenth Message.

*His Majesties most gracious Message for Peace from Hol-
denby, with His Answer to the Propositions.*

CHARLES R.

AS the daily expectation of the comming of the Propositions hath made His Majesty this long time to forbear giving His Answer unto them, so the appearance of their sending being no more for any thing He can hear, then it was at His first comming hither, notwithstanding that the Earl of *Londerdale* hath been at *London* above these ten daies, (whose not coming was said to be the onely stop) hath caused His Majesty thus to anticipate their coming to Him, and yet considering His Condition, that His Servants are denied accessse to Him, all but very few, and those by appointment, not His own Election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commissioners, or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with His Majesty, or that any Letters should be given to, or received from Him, may He not truly say, that He is not in case fit to make Concessions, or give Answers, since He is not master of those ordinary Actions which are the undoubted Rights of any free-born man, how mean soever his birth be? And certainly he would still be silent as to this subject, untill His Condition were much mended, did He not prefer such a right understanding betwixt Him and His Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and lasting Peace in all His Dominions, before any particular of His own, or any earthly blessing: and therefore His Majesty hath diligently employed His utmost indevours

indeavours for divers moneths past, so to inform His Understanding, and satisfie His Conscience, that He might be able to give such Answers to the Propositions, as would be most agreeable to His Parliaments; but He ingenuously professes, that notwithstanding all the pains that He hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto Him, that without disclaiming that Reason which God hath given him to judge by, for the good of Him and His People, and without putting the greatest violence upon His own Conscience, He cannot give His consent to all of them. Yet His Majesty (that it may appear to all the World how desirous He is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to expresse His readinesse to grant what He may, and His willingnesse to receive from them, and that personally if His two Houses at *Westminster* shall approve thereof, such further Information in the rest as may best convince His judgment, and satisfie those doubts which are not yet clear unto Him, desiring them also to consider that if His Majesty intended to wind Himself out of these troubles by indirect means, were it not easie for Him now readily to consent to what hath, or shall be proposed unto Him; and afterwards chuse His time to break all, alleaging, that forc'd Concessions are not to be kept? surely He might, and not incur a hard censure from indifferent men. But maximes in this kind are not the guides of His Majesties actions, for He freely and clearly avows, that He holds it unlawfull for any man, and most base in a King to recede from His promises for having been obtained by force or under restraint; wherefore His Majesty not only rejecting those acts which He esteems unworthy of Him, but even passing by that which he might well insist upon, a point of honour, in respect of His pre-

sent condition, thus answers the first Proposition. That upon His Majesties coming to *London*, He will heartily joyne in all that shall concern the Honour of His two Kingdomes or the Assembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of either Kingdome, particularly in those things which are desired in that Proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderneſs will look upon those things which concern His Majesties Honour.

In answer to all the Propositions concerning Religion, His Majesty proposeth, that He will confirm the Presbyteriall Government, the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and the Directory, for three years, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that His Majesty and His Household be not hindred from that form of Gods Service which they formerly have; And also, that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of His Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majesty and the two Houses how the Church shall be governed after the said three years or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, His Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, & desires to respite His particular answer thereunto until His coming to *London*, because it being a matter of conscience He cannot give a resolution therein till He may be assisted with the advice of some of His own Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied Him) and such other Divines as shall be most proper to inform Him therein; and then He will make clearly appear, both His zeal to the Protestant profession, and the Union of these two Kingdoms, which He conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the seventh and eighth Propositions, His Majesty will consent.

sent. To the ninth, His Majesty doubts not but to give good satisfaction when He shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied and disposed of. To the tenth, His Majesties answer is, That He hath been alwaies ready to prevent the practices of Papists, and therefore is content to passe an Act of Parliament for that purpose; And also, that the Laws against them be duly executed. His Majesty will give His consent to the Act for the due observation of the Lords Day, for the suppressing of Innovations, and those concerning the Preaching of Gods Word, and touching Non-Resistance and Pluralities, and His Majesty will yeild to such Act or Acts as shall be requisite to raise monies for the payment and satisfying all publike Debts, expecting also that his will be therein included. As to the Proposition touching the *Militia*, though his Majesty cannot consent unto it *in terminis* as it is proposed, because thereby he conceives, he wholly parts with the power of the Sword entrusted to him by God and the Laws of the Land, for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once devesting himself, and dis-inheriting his Posterity of that right and prerogative of the Crowne, which is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more then the name and shadow of it will remain: yet if it be only security for the preservation of the Peace of this Kingdom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired, (which his Majesty alwaies understood to be the case, and hopes that herein he is not mistaken) his Majesty will give abundant satisfaction, to which end he is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the *Militia*, both by Sea and Land for

the space of ten years be in the hands of such persons as the two Houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said term to change the said persons, and substitute others in their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return to the proper chanell again, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of blessed memory. And now His Majesty conjures His two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen and lovers of Peace, by the duty they owe to His Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, that they wil accept of this his Majesties offer, wherby the joyfull news of Peace may be restored to this languishing Kingdom. His Majesty will grant the like to the Kingdome of *Scotland* if it be desired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) His Majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutuall Declarations proposed to be established in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, And the Modifications, Qualifications, and Branches which follow in the Propositions, His Majesty only professes, that He doth not sufficiently understand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this He well knoweth, That a generall Act of Oblivion is the best Bond of Peace; and that after intestine Troubles, the wisdom of this and other Kingdoms hath usually and happily in all ages granted generall Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of many Persons and Families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become fewell to new disorders, or seeds to future troubles. His Majesty therefore desires, that His two Houses of Parliament would seriously descend into these considerations, and
likewise

likewise tenderly look upon His Condition herein, and the perpetuall dishonour that must cleave to Him, if He shal thus abandon so many persons of Condition & Fortune that have ingaged themselves with and for Him, out of a sense of Duty, & propounds as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to Him, That a generall Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith passed by Act of Parliament. Touching the new great Seal, His Majesty is very willing to confirm both it, and all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this present time, so that it be not thereby pressed to make void those Acts of His done by vertue of His great Seal, which in honour and justice He is obliged to maintain; And that the future Government therof may be in his Majesty, according to the due course of Law. Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19. Article, His Majesty when he shall come to *Westminster* wil gratifie his Parliament all that possibly he may, without destroying the alterations which are necessary for the Crown. His Majesty wil willingly consent to the Act for the confirmation of the Priviledges and Customes of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the Propositions for their particular advantage. And now that His Majesty hath thus far indeavoured to comply with the desires of His two Houses of Parliament, to the end that this agreement may be firme and lasting, without the least face or question of restraint to blemish the same, His Majesty earnestly desires presently to be admitted to His Parliament at *Westminster*, with that Honour which is due to their Sovereign, there solemnly to confirm the same, and legally to passe the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well satisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewise such other pledges of mutuall love, trust, and confidence as shall most concern the

good of him, and his people ; upon which happy agreement, his Majesty will dispatch his Directions to the Prince his Son, to return immediately to him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto.

Holdenby, May 12. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
To be Communicated to the two Houses of Parli-
ament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of
the Parliament of Scotland.*

When our Saviour was tempted in the wilderness, He was (as Saint *Mark* saies) among the wild beasts there ; so was our Sovereigne (as it seems) at Holdenby : but these were worse mannered to the King, then those other were to Christ, and lesse civill a great deal ; for these were men degenerated into Beasts, which of all others are the most savage ; we see in the beginning of this Message, with what barbarity, and inhumanity they behaved themselves towards Him, their Lord and Master, who by Gods appointment had the just right and Dominion over them : they kept His Servants from having access unto Him, not suffering one of His owne Election to come neer Him : they declared it a crime for any of mankind to converse or speak with Him, to give any Letters to Him, or to receive any from Him : no commerce must He have with any Creature, but only such as were His tormenters, and tempters, subservient to them, or allowed by them : in brief, they would not let Him be Master of those ordinary Actions, which belonged to any free-born man, of how mean a birth soever : infomuch that His Majesty may surely say, He had to do with Beasts at Holdenby in the shape of men, and fought with them, as Saint Paul did at Ephesus.

But (behold) for all this, though they forgot themselves to be Subjects, and (indeed) men, yet He remembers Himself still to be the Father of His People ; and though His Condition under them might make Him silent, and His usage by them, might harden His heart against them, and stir His spirit to plot revenge upon them ;
and

and to this end, to study *the winding Himself out of His Troubles by indirect means*; and that were (as Himself tells them) by consenting readily, to what had, or should be proposed unto Him, and chuse a time afterwards to break all, and allodge that forced Concessions are not to be kept, which (he is confident) He might do without incurring any hard censure from indifferent men.

But His Majesties spirit is too Kingly and divine, to practice according to such *maximas*: for though (indeed) no compulsions or violence shall be able to wrest from Him any Concessions against Conscience, or in clear reason against the good and welfare of His people; yet He avows freely and clearly that He holds it not only unlawful, but base, to recede from His promises (if once passed) for having been obtained by force, or under restraint: wherefore His Majesty not only rejects all those Acts which He esteems unworthy of Him, but even passeth by that point of Honour, which He might well insist upon, in respect of His present Condition, and consents as we see so far to all their Propositions, as in Conscience and Reason He conceived might possibly be done, in order to His peoples welfare, though to the great diminution of His own undoubted prerogative, and most just rights: for example, He knows well and acknowledgeth (as we see) the power of the Sword is intrusted to Him by God and the Law, to Protect and Govern His people, and is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, yet to secure the Kingdome of peace on His behalf, and the performance of agreements on His part, (which by reason of the wrongs done Him was so much suspected,) He not only offers the whole power of the Militia both by Sea and Land to be in the whole disposal of the two Houses of Parliament for ten years space, but also intreats them (after all this their ill usage of Him) and conjures them, as English-men, and lovers of Peace, by the duty they owe Him, as their King, and by the Bowels of Compassion which they have to their fellow-Subjects, to accept of this His offer, whereby the joyfull news of Peace may be restored (at length) to this languishing Kingdome.

Nay, and further (as we see in this Message) notwithstanding they had grieved His spirit by their unparalleld abuses, and offended Him above seventy times seven times, and never hitherto so much as said, it repenteth us; yet doth His most gracious Majesty even urge upon them, (for the prevention of new disorders, and future

future troubles) to accept of a *pardon* at His Hand for all the wrongs which they had done Him, and to admit of an *Act of oblivion*, as the *best bond of peace*: only He would have them deny their Corruptions so far, as to cease thirsting for the bloud and totall ruine of those of their Christian Brethren (whom they had well nigh undone already) for their love and adherence to Himself, according to *their duties*, as Gods Word, the Law, their Consciences, Oaths of Allegiance and Protestation did command them: He desires (in effect) that their spleens may rest satisfied with the wrongs already offered to these persons, and their families, lest their *discontent might haply prove fowell to new disorders*: He would have the *Act of Oblivion* to include them too: Yea, He would have these men (who indeed only need it) to consent that it might reach to all the people of the Land in generall; (this is all He desires of them,) that so from henceforth we might live together like Christians; and not like Heathens, like savage Creatures, or rather like devils any longer, as (alas) we have done (to the unspeakable disgrace of the Gospell and of our Nation) since these men domineered: And to the end, that there might not be *the least face or question of His Majesties restraint to blemish this agreement* to their disadvantage in after-times, *He earnestly desires* that Himself might *presently be admitted to His two Houses*; (after all this, His compliance) *to perfect the same*:

And now surely, we must needs conclude that here was enough to still the Clamour of these *men* against their King (had they not been far worse then *beasts*) & to have conquered their spirits even to everlasting: But they were resolute in their way, all this was nothing in their esteem; for indeed the established and *fundamentall Laws* of the Land, are so severe against such as go in those waies and courses which these have travailed so far in, against the King and their fellow-subjects; that they dare not trust either to his *mercy*, or their *forgivenesse*, be the same never so strongly confirmed unto them; nor can any *Act of Oblivion* in their conceits) be ever able to obliterate the same: and therefore as if He had offered nothing at all, they still cry out, that His Majesty is *averse to Peace*, and never yet pleased to accept of any *Tender* fit for them to make, nor to offer any fit for them to receive: and thei

Preacher

Preachers are still set a work by them to pray before the people, *that God would incline the Kings heart to come unto His Parliament.*

But these men not knowing how to answer His Majesty (saving their own stubborn resolutions,) or to say any thing to these His so large and gracious *tenders*, they even suffer Him after their old wont, to wait, and to live in expectation.

And yet we found (or at least supposed at that time) that His Majesties Answer to some of these Propositions, *viz.* to those that concerned *Religion or Church Government*, had some effect upon the *Independent party*, whose boyling discontents about this time began to vapour forth more furiously then before, against their *Presbyterian Brethren*; whose *Government and Directory* His Majesty had here promised to confirm for three years, (the time set down by the two Houses) so that Himself and His, might not be hindered thereby in serving God the old and true way; now upon this, the *untamed Heighfers* of this other faction, altogether unaccustomed to the yoke; having observed that their *Brethrens little finger* was like to prove heavier *then the Bishops loynes*: were horribly loath to come under the sence of their *Scorpions*, and therefore began to cast about for themselves, and to devise a prevention of this *three years confirmation*, lest they should feel the lash so long, and be kept under worse then an *Egyptian Bondage*: and in order to this, they began to find fault (as there was cause) at the *Presbyterians* ill usage of the King, (for they indeed were His chief Tormenters at *Holdenby*; *Master Marshall* and his fellow-Minister being then also of that faction, because at that time it was the most prevailing) they exclaimed on them for handling His Majesty so hardly, in keeping Him as a *Prisoner*, denying Him the freedome of His *Conscience*, and service of His *Chaplains*: they remembred also with much regret of spirit (as then seemed) the wicked tenents of *Buchanan, Knox*, and others, the erectors and propugnators of the *Presbyterian Discipline* in *Scotland*, about excommunicating, deposing, arraigning, and killing Princes: and their practices against *James* his Grand-mother, his Mother, and himself in his Infancy; and they did plainly observe (as themselves said) by the carriages of these *Presbyterians* towards His Majesty at this present, that they resolved to tread in the same steps, as their predecessours had done before, notwith-

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standing their so many solemn *professions* and *protestations* to the Contrary : And hereupon they said *they thought it their duty* (according to their first ingagement in this war) *to bring the King to His Parliament with Safety and Honour*, that He might enjoy the just rights of His *Crown*, as well as of His *Conscience* ; largely promising and protesting to be instruments of the same, to the content of His Majesty and the whole Kingdome ; and upon these pretences the King was delivered by them from that particular thraldome at *Holdenby* : And afterward brought with the applause and joy of His people, to His Manour of *Hampton*, where His Servants, and Chaplains at first were allowed access to Him, and many of His Subjects permitted to glad their hearts with the sight of Him. And this gleame of prosperity blazed well till the *Houses* were thinned of the chief Heads of the *contrary faction* : for in very deed all this was done to another end then was pretended, and ordered by other Councils then yet appeared ; it being the nature of some men to envy that any should be more injurious then themselves, or have a greater hand in acting evill then they. There were in the *Houses* (and elsewhere) some *Grandeers*, (as they are since called) that were ambitious of ingrossing the sole power over King and Kingdom, which others as yet had as large a share in managing of (if not a larger) then themselves, to exclude whom they made use of the *Independent* humour in the inferiour Officers and Souldiers, layed the plot for them, in that manner as it was acted, secretly provoked them to the undertaking, and countenanced them in it, when it was done, by pretending to be of their Religion ; clouding their maine *Designe*, all the while from the body of the Army ; whom they set a work to make certaine *Proposals*, partly in their owne behalf, and partly tending to those things which had been promised to the King ; while themselves in the *interim*, were dressing, or making ready to act the very same part, which *those* they disliked had done before ; and had been thus intermitted for a season, till *those others* were ejected or cast over-board : for the very same *Propositions* in Effect, that had formerly assaulted His Majesty at *Newcastle*, and were answered by Him from *Holdenby* (as we have seen) are (to renew His trouble) remitted to Him : which His Majesty returns Answer unto, in these words,

His

His Majesties seventeenth Message.

*His Majesties most gracious Answer to the Propositions,
presented to Him at Hampton-Court.*

CHARLS R.

HIs Majesty cannot chuse but be passionately sensible (as He believes all His good Subjects are) of the late great distractions, and still languishing and unsetled state of this Kingdome ; and He calls God to witnesse, and is willing to give testimony to all the world of His readinesse to contribute His utmost endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing condition. His Majesty having perused the Propositions now brought to Him, finds them the same in effect, which were offered to Him at *Newcastle*. To some of which as He could not then consent without violation of His Conscience and Honour ; So neither can He agree to others, now conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of affairs, then when they were formerly presented unto Him, as being destructive to the main principall Interests of the Army, and of all those, whose Affections concur with them. And His Majesty having seen the Proposals of the Army to the Commissioners from His two Houses residing with them, and with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and securing of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome, and the settling of a just and lasting Peace. To which Proposals, as He conceives His two Houses not to be strangers ; So He believes they will think with Him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all Interests, and may be a fitter foundation for a lasting Peace, then the Propositions which at this time are tendered unto Him. He therefore propounds (as the best

way in His judgment in order to a Peace) That His two Houses would instantly take into consideration those Proposals, upon which there may be a Personall Treaty with His Majesty, and upon such other Propositions as his Majesty shal make: hoping that the said Propositions may be so moderated in the said Treaty, as to render them the more capable of his Majesties full concession: Wherein He resolves to give full satisfaction to His people, for whatsoever shall concern the settling of the Protestant Profession, with liberty to tender Consciences, and the securing of the Laws, Liberties and Properties of all His Subjects, and the just Priviledges of Parliaments for the future: and likewise by His present deportment in this Treaty, He will make the world clearly judge of his intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty His Majesty will be well pleased (if it be thought fit) that Commissioners from the Army, (whose the Proposals are) may likewise be admitted. His Majesty therefore conjures his two Houses of Parliament, by the duty they owe to God, and his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow-subjects, both for the relief of their present sufferings, & to prevent future miseries, that they will forthwith accept of this his Majesties Offer, whereby the joyfull newes of Peace may be restored to this distressed Kingdome; And for what concerns the Kingdome of *Scotland* mentioned in the Propositions, his Majesty will very willingly Treat upon those particulars with the Scotch Commissioners; and doubts not, but to give reasonable satisfaction to that his Kingdome.

At Hampton-court the 9. of Septemb. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.*

It appears by this Message of His Majesty, and more fully by the *Propositions* themselves, which it relates unto, that the *Tragedie* is still the same, the variation is onely of the *Actors*, not of the *Scene*: Nor did those *Pharisees* desire his death and down-fall more, then these *Saduces* doe, and will endeavour to prevent His Resurrection. 'Tis the same *Laven* that *sowres* both factions, and the controversie between them only is, which shall be the chief, or have most strength to expresse most *severenesse*.

But His Majesty finds a difference in the present condition of Affairs, from what they were at the former presentment of these *Propositions*; for they seemed to be totally destructive to the *interests of the Army*, (now more manifest to Him then before) whom His Majesty was pleased to look on (at this present) not only as *Subjects*, but as *Friends*; and being desirous in His Princely care and equity (as a common Father) to give satisfaction to all His people, doth (as we see) in His *wisdom* and *publick affections* answer accordingly; and since the *Army* had been their *Servants* and *Hirelings* (though against Himself their naturall Leige Lord) yet He thinks it meet in His *Fatherly Clemency* not only to passe by what they had done, (as acts of *ignorance* in them) but also to endeavour that they be payed their wages; and to this end commends their case and *Proposalls*, to those their Masters who had imployed them, and sent these *Propositions* unto Him: And that all parties may have content, He desires againe a *Personall Treaty* with them for *Peace*, whereunto He is well pleased (for His part) *if it be thought fit* (as he sayes) that *Commissioners from the Army may also be admitted*; that so without more adoe, a cleare, open, and full satisfaction might be given to all parties: And sure the Soldiers, as well as the rest of his abused, and deluded people, will find in the end, that the King will prove their best friend and pay-master; who in the meane time (as they may observe) makes Himselfe even a *Petitioner* in their behalfe, to His two Houses; whom He conjures againe (as He had done oft before) *by the duty they owe to God, to Himselfe their King, and by the bowels of compassion which they have (or ought to have) to their fellow-subjects*; to give way, that their present sufferings may be relieved, their future miseries prevented, and the *joyfull newes of Peace againe restored*.

But this request and conjuration of His Majesty at the present, found no other respect with the new *purged Houses*, then His Majesty before had done, when (by their owne confessions) these Houses were so *filthy* and *uncleane*: indeed the *purging* was not compleatly done, according to the *Law of cleansing*, for the *Leprosie* that hath so troubled us all, was (as now appeares) spread to the *very walls*, and *stones*, and *morter* it self, all which should have been taken away, and other *stones* and *morter* put in the place thereof, that is, *New Houses* should have been thoroughly framed of new materials, and so the *Plague* might have been quite healed, which upon this default grew worse ere long, then it had been before, as if the *evill spirit* had been onely thrust out, to *fetch in seven more spirits worse, and more wicked then himselfe*: for not long after His Majesty had sent this last Message or Answer, He was forced back to His former Condition of Captivity, He is circled with Armies, watched by Soldiers, yea hath strict and strange guards set and doubled upon Him, and His servants that were formerly admitted, excluded from Him. In a word, He is reduced to the same (if not to a worse) condition by his *Deliverers* at *Hampton Court*, then that was which they pretended to free him from at *Holdenby*. For some amongst them whisperingly threatened also his sudden destruction, and to act the *Assassinates* part upon His Sacred Person: Whereupon for the safety of His life, He was forced to retire speedily, and privately from that place & in the night season, when the weather was wet, cold, stormy tempestuous; at which time He left this insuing *Declaration* behinde Him on the *Table*, which speaks abundantly, His great wisdom, and strong affections towards the Peace and Happinesse of all His People, not excepting His very Enemies, notwithstanding His Barbarous and Hard usage at their Hands.

His Majesties eighteenth Message.

*His Majesties most Gracious Declaration, left by Him on
His Table at Hampton Court, Novemb. 11. 1647.*

CHARLES R.

Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is the common theame and desire of all men; common Reason shews, that Kings lesse then any should endure captivity. And yet, I call God and the world to witnesse, with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint: which so long as I had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindring of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergoe: but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not onely turn to my personall ruine, but likewise be of much more prejudice, then furtherance to the publique good; I thought I was bound as well by Naturall, as Politicall obligations, to seek my safety, by retiring my self for some time, from the publick view both of my friends and enemies: And I appeal to all indifferent men, to judge, if I have not just cause to free my selfe from the hands of those, who change their Principles with their condition; and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their Negative Voice; and with whom, the Levelers doctrine, is rather countenanced then punished: And as for their intentions to my Person, their changing, and putting more strict Guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those Servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does suffi-

sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this my retirement mis-interpreted; for I shall earnestly and unceasingly endeavour the settling of a safe and well-grounded Peace, where ever I am or shall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian blood: for which how many times have I desired, prest to be heard, and yet no ear given to me? And can any reasonable man think, that (according to the ordinary course of affaires) *there can be a settled Peace without it? Or that God will blesse those, who refuse to hear their own King? Surely no.* Nay I must farther adde, that (besides what concerns my selfe) *unlesse all other chief interests, have not onely a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, those who have adhered to me, and even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being in my opinion, a sinfull presumption, in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting Peace.*

Now as I cannot deny, but that my personall security is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take God to witnesse, that the publike Peace is no lesse before my eyes: and I can finde no better way to expresse this my profession (I know not what a wiser may doe) then by desiring and urging that all chief Interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity (which should extend to all the rest of my Subjects) and that all their Arrears should be speedily and duly paid, which I will undertake to doe, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawfull and honest means as I shall

shall chuse. To conclude, let me be heard with Freedom, Honour and Safety, and I shall instantly breake through this Cloud of Retirement, and shew my selfe really to be *Pater Patria*.

Hampton-Court, Novemb. 11. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
To be Communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.*

HE that reads His Majesty in these His Messages and Declarations, and considers well the discovery made therein of His disposition, must needs conclude, that *never King since Christs time, was indued with more of Christs spirit.*

In this Declaration we observe among many other things worthy our speciall notice, three particulars.

1. His Majesties most *Christian and fatherly Affection* to us all in generall, How like a truly good Shepherd He did *willingly undergo and indure a most tedious restraint*, so long as He had hopes that the same might *conduce any thing to our peace*, and prevent the further *effusion of our Blood*: but when He saw by certaine proofs, that His continued patience was likely to turn onely to His Personall ruine, whereby ours, and that of the publike would certainly be hastened: He thought Himself bound to endeavour His peoples safety by His own, *in retiring for some time from public view.*

2. His Majesties *great care* of preserving the being of the *English Nobility* whose *destruction* he perceived was *openly intended*, as well as His; by those that aymed at *the taking away their Negative voice*. Had those of them, who have so shamefully degenerated with the times from the dignity of their Auncestors, been as carefull of His *Honour and Rights*, as He (we see) is and hath been of theirs: both He, and they, and we all, had not been so miserable at this present; when God shall lay this sin unto their Charge, *woe, woe, woe*, will be unto them.

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3. His Majesties *servent desire* that all *Interests may be Heard*, and just satisfaction given to them; the *Presbyterians, Independants, Army, Scots* and all, who have combined together and engaged against Him, as well as those who had adhered to Him; and yet none of them (except those) had evidenced any full readiness of mind that He might be restored to those *His rights* which God and the Law commands should be given to Him.

Concerning Himself, we observe He desires but only to be Heard, and that for these two Ends: first to procure peace for His people, which is not probably otherwise to be settled; and Secondly, to prevent Gods Curse from falling upon His Gain-sayers which otherwise is most likely to overwhelme them: His words (we see) are these, *Can any reasonable man think that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there can be a settled peace without it? or that God will blesse those who refuse to hear their own King? Surely no.* May His Majesty obtain but hopes of this, He will instantly break through His cloud of Retirement, and shew Himself really to be, (as indeed He hath alwaies been) *Pater patriæ*.

But can His Majesty conceal His *Affection* so long? can He forbear soliciting His peoples peace till Himself be Heard? 'tis impossible, no, no, He cannot contain Himself seven daies from returning to His former labour in vain, or fruitlesse endeavours; but sets immediately to the same again so soon as He arrived at the *Isle of Wight*, the place of His retirement, though whether destined so to be, by His own choice, or others designation, time will discover: But it plainly appears, His Majesty had a good opinion of the *Army in Generall*, in His not removing quite from among them, and of the *Governour* of that place in particular, or else being in a free or open road, and in the night season, He might easily have turned some other way: He removed from *Hampton-Court*, *Novemb.* the 11. and on the 17. of the same Month, He writes from *Wight* this which follows.

His

His Majesties nineteenth Message.

*His Majesties most Gracious Message from the Isle of
Wight : for a Personall Treaty for Peace.*

C H A R L E S R.

His Majesty is confident that before this time, His two Houses of Parliament have received the Message which He left behind Him at *Hampton-Court* the eleventh of this Month, by which they will have understood the reasons which enforced Him to go from thence, as likewise His constant endeavours, for the settling of a safe and wel-grounded Peace wheresoever He should be; And being now in a place, where He conceives Himself to be at much more freedom and security then formerly; He thinks it necessary (not only for making good of His own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a Peace in these languishing and distressed Kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to His two Houses for that effect; which upon due examination of all Interests, may best conduce thereunto.

And because Religion is the best and chiefeft foundation of Peace, His Majesty will begin with that Particular.

That for the abolishing Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. His Majesty cleerly professeth, that He cannot give His consent thereunto, both in relation as He is a Christian, and a King: For the first, He avows that He is satisfied in His Judgement, that this order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and ever since their time, hath continued in all Christian Churches through-

out the world, untill this last century of years; And in this Church in all times of Change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the wisdom of His Ancestours, as the great preserver of Doctrine, Discipline, and Order in the service of God. As a King at His Coronation, He hath not only taken a Solemn Oath, to maintain this Order, but His Majesty and His Predecessours in their confirmations of the Great Charter, have inseparably woven the right of the Church into the Liberties of the rest of the Subjects: And yet He is willing, it be provided that the particular Bishops perform the severall Duties of their callings, both by their personall residence and frequent Preachings in their Diocesses, as also that they exercise no act of Jurisdiction or Ordination, without the consent of their Presbyters; And will consent, that their Powers in all things be so limited, that they be not grievous to tender Consciences: Wherefore, since His Majesty is willing to give ease to the Consciences of others, He sees no reason why He alone, and those of His Judgment, should be Pressed to a violation of theirs. Nor can His Majesty consent to the Alienation of Church Lands, because it cannot be denied to be a sin of the highest Sacrilege; as also, that it subverts the intentions of so many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such profane violations, which His Majesty is very unwilling to undergoe; And besides the matter of Conscience, His Majesty believes it to be a prejudice to the Publike good, many of His Subjects having the benefit of renewing Leases at much easier Rates, then if those possessions were in the hands of private men: not omitting the discouragement which it will be to all learning and industry, when such eminent rewards shal be taken away,
which

which now lie open to the Children of meanest Persons.

Yet His Majesty considering the great present distempers concerning Church Discipline, and that the Presbyterian Government is now in practice, His Majesty to eschew confusion as much as may be, and for the satisfaction of His two Houses, is content that the said Government be legally permitted to stand, in the same condition it now is for three years; Provided, that His Majesty and those of His Judgment (or any other who cannot in Conscience submit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the Presbyterian Government, but have free practice of their own Profession, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of His Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church Government after the said time shall be settled, (or sooner if differences may be agreed) as is most agreeable to the Word of God; with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon consciencious grounds from that settlement; alwaies provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tolerate those of the Popish Profession, nor the exempting of any Popish Recusant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate the publike profession of Atheisme or Blasphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Christian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England*, ever since the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that right, which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown, by the Laws of this Nation, and that which former Parliaments,

ments, as likewise this, hath acknowledged so to be; His Majesty cannot so much wrong that trust which the Laws of God and this Land hath annexed to the Crown for the protection and security of his People, as to divest Himself and Successours of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of His desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a Peace, his Majesty wil consent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, for and during his whole Reigne, shall be ordered and disposed by his two Houses of Parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of Forces within this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the publike Peace, and against forraigne Invasion; and that they shall have power during his said Reigne, to raise Monies for the purposes aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty that now is, or any other (by any authority derived only from him) shall execute any of the said Powers during his Majesties said Reigne, but such as shall act by the consent and approbation of the two Houses of Parliament: Neverthelesse his Majesty intends that all Patents, Commissions, and other Acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and acted as formerly; and that after his Majesties Reigne, all the power of the *Militia* shall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of *Q. Elizabeth*, and *K. James* of blessed memory.

After this head of the *Militia*, the consideration of the Arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the ease of his People, his Majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of his Conscience and Honour. Wherefore if his two Houses shall consent to remit unto him

him such benefit out of Sequestrations from *Michaëmas* last, and out of Compositions that shall be made before the concluding of the peace, and the Arrears of such as have been already made, the assistance of the Clergy, and the Arrears of such Rents of his own Revenue as his two Houses shall not have received before the concluding of the Peace, his Majesty will undertake within the space of eighteen Months, the payment of four hundred thousand pounds for the satisfaction of the Army: And if those means shall not be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give way to the sale of Forrest Lands for that purpose, this being the Publike Debt which in his Majesties judgment is first to be satisfied; and for other publike debts already contracted upon Church Lands or any other Ingagements, his Majesty will give his consent to such Act or Acts for raising of Monies for payment thereof as both Houses shall hereafter agree upon, so as they be equally laid, whereby his people (already too heavily burthened by these late distempers) may have no more pressures upon them then this absolute necessity requires: And for the further securing of all fears, his Majesty will consent, that an Act of Parliament be passed for the disposing of the great Offices of State, and naming of Privy Counsellours for the whole terme of his Raigne by the two Houses of Parliament, their Patents and Commissions being taken from his Majesty, and after to return to the Crown, as is exprest in the Article of the *Militia*. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majesty very well knows the consequence of taking that away, by turning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the Protection of many of his Subjects being Infants. Neverthelesse if the continuance thereof seem
grievous

grievous to His Subjects, rather then he will fail on His part in giving satisfaction, He will consent to an Act for taking of it away, to as a full recompence be settled upon His Majesty and his Successours in perpetuity, and that the Arrears now due be reserved unto Him towards the payment of the Arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, His Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament for the suppressing and making null of all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations against both or either House of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings against any persons for adhering unto them; and His Majesty proposeth, (as the best expedient to take away all seeds of future differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to all His Subjects.

As for *Ireland*, the Cessation there is long since determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) His Majesty will give full satisfaction to his Houses concerning that Kingdom.

And although His Majesty cannot consent in Honour and Justice to avoid all His own Grants and Acts past under His Great Seal since the 22 of *May*, 1642. or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants passed under that made by the two Houses, yet His Majesty is confident, that upon perusal of particulars, He shall give full satisfaction to His two Houses, to what may be reasonably desired in that particular.

And now His Majesty conceives that by these His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the settlement of a Peace) He hath clearly manifested His intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all Interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happiness of His people. And for the perfecting of these
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Concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two Houses, and for such just and reasonable demands as his Majesty shall find necessary to propose on His part, He earnestly desires a Personall Treaty at *London* with His two Houses, in Honour, Freedom and Safety, it being in His judgment the most proper, and indeed, only means to a firm and settled Peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All these things being by Treaty perfected, His Majesty believes His two Houses will think it reasonable, that the Proposals of the Army concerning the Succession of Parliaments and their due Elections, should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, His Majesty will very readily apply Himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both joyned together, shall be made known unto Him.

C H A R L S R.

From the Isle of Wight, Novemb. 17. 1647.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster, and to the Commissioners
of the Parliament of Scotland.*

WE see at the beginning of this Message, that His Majesty conceived Himself to be at much more freedom and security in that place, then formerly: Had the Governour there been a true Gentleman in the least degree, he would rather have lost his life, then crossed His Majesties opinion in that particular: but we are
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confirmed by Him, in what we knew before, that *swordmen in these dayes, are not all men of Honesty, nor yet of Honour.*

His Majesty being now in His own apprehension, *at more freedom,* renews His motions for the purchase of *peace*, that his jealous and hardhearted Chapmen (if possible) might be cured of all their feares, in seeing now, that His profers before, were not the fruits of *restraint*, but of *Hearty will and Affections* to His languishing and distressed Kingdomes.

And first, His Majesty (in this Message) declares His Conscience and Reasons, why He cannot consent to the totall Alteration of that Church Government, which He had *sworn* to maintain; and they without any Conscience or Reasons at all would force Him to destroy. Doubtlesse if there were a necessity, that it must be as they would have it, yet would it better become them to endeavour His Majesties satisfaction in the matter, and to Answer His Reasons, then to urge him with violence to goe against both; & when they see He dares not for offending God, yet to bawl and clamour against Him without shame or Honesty, as if He made no Conscience at all of His Oath taken at His Coronation.

But what necessity is there of pulling up this *pale* of Government, save only to let *wild beasts* into Gods vineyard? surely if his Majesty were not confirmed in His Judgement, that this *pale* was of the Apostles setting, and cherished in all Christian Churches, since their times (till this last Century of years) and upheld in this particular Church since the Reformation, as the speciall preserver of Doctrine and order in Gods Worship: and if He had not taken an Oath at His Coronation, to maintaine it; and though the rights of the Church were not so proven as they be in the great Charter of the Kingdom, with the Liberties of the rest of His Subjects; yet as He is a King and protector of Christs Religion, as He is a nursing Father of His Church, beholding the present destruction and vastation of both, by those swarms of Hereticks and Schismaticks, which have abounded within these seven years, since the Execution of this Government hath been suspended; He ought in Conscience and Prudence to endeavour the continuance of it, it being by the confession of its greatest Adversaries, (*viz. the Smectymnists*) first established to suppress and prevent these very mischiefs.

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His Majesty will see that Bishops doe their duties, and that all abuses in the Government be amended, which no question but the Tryenniall Parliament will also look unto, (if the Kingdome might but be blessed with it.) And that the present Enemies of this Government may have both time and occasion to think better of their own demands in their cooler temper: His Majesty is willing to let them for their own parts to try three years how well they can thrive without it, hoping that their Mistris Experience, may have taught them by that time, in the want of this Government, the necessity of the use and continuation of it; but to consent to the totall abolition of that which to Himself and all sober men is evident to be the most speciall mean to preserve the life, being, and beauty of Christs Church, no men but these that drive Satans designe (if they well consider of it) can, or will desire it.

2. His Majesty plainly declares, that he dares not be a partaker in that Sinne of *the highest Sacriledge*, by consenting to the *Alienation of Church-lands*, nor venture upon the *Curses* which hang over the heads of such *profane violaters*, as those are and will be, that shall deal in such merchandize; for *His Majesty feared God*. Nor can He be induced so much to prejudice the *publick good*, or to damnifie so many of His Subjects, who farme these Lands (as now held) at far easier rates then they are like to doe, if they should become the possessions of private men; for *the King loves His People*. Nor lastly, will He ever be such an ill friend to learning and industry, as to consent to the taking away of those rewards which excite and courage thereunto the meanest persons; for *our Sovereign Lord Honours Learning* so much, that in relation to that, He will provide and keep maintenance in store for the Children of His lowest Subjects.

Nay, should His Majesty yeeld to this *Sacriledge*, were it not the next way to destroy Religion as well as Learning? *Julian the Apostate*, one of the greatest and subtillest enemies that ever *Christianity* had, thought it was: And therefore he endeavouring to extirpate the same, made an *Ordinance for the sale of Church lands*, or the taking away of *Clergie maintenance*; the renewment of which, might in prudence have been omitted by the pretenders to Christianity of these dayes, for *Julians* sake.

These be the two things which His Majesty denyes His consent

His Majesties most Gracious

unto, *Abolition of Church Government, and Alienation of Church Revenues*: and his Reasons for the same are far better, then any we know he can have, for his yeelding those things which he offers to them; whereof the first is the *power of the Militia both by sea and land, during his owne whole raigne*, which he is content shall be ordered and disposed of by *His two Houses, and such as they shall appoint*: And his Reason for this is, *to give an insallible evidence of His desire to secure the performance of such agreement as shall be made in order to Peace*: Whereby His Majesty seemes to us (to speak in their phrased) *even to yeeld up not onely His Will and Affections, but also His very Reason and Judgement, for the obtaining a good Accommodation.*

But concerning the reality of His Majesties Desires in this particular, the best of His people neither wish nor need any such evidence; the *security* is onely doubted and desired on their parts, whom we have seen and found so false and perfidious already both to the King, and the whole Kingdome. Nor (if it were possible, this proffer of His Maj. could secure us of them) dare we the Christian people of this Nation, (whose servants they are) give our consent, that the *Sword* should be out of that Land where God hath put it for our good; for *Nolumus hos regnare*, we are resolved on that: we will never live under the tyrannie of these men: The Wise-man hath said it, and we have found it by wofull experience, *That by the raigne of servants, the earth is disquieted.*

But God hath been much our friend in this matter, in hardning their hearts against this *proffer*, which in pity to us his peeced and distressed people, to purchase peace for us, this our most compassionate and self-denying King was pleased to tender: and we are with fervour of spirit to praise the Majesty of heaven for it, it being an earnest, or ground of hope, that he hath yet some mercy in store for this poore Nation; that He will not suffer it to lie under so heavy a guilt, as the impunity of so much evil would be hazardous to bring upon it, by an Act of Oblivion. No, no, our God will have these mischievous vermine destroyed by the sword of Justice, (as we hope) and not of Judgement, and so shall the curse of God which hangs over the Land for those many blasphemies against Majesty, those unlawfull oathes, those bloods and oppressions which have been committed in it by these men be removed
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from it, and then the same shall enjoy rest and peace againe, under the protection of her most gracious and indulgent Sovereigne. And in the mean time we are to pray fervently, that this our good King may still afford us his true *affections*, and these onely, but may from henceforth keep his *Will*, his *Reason* and *Judgement* solely to himselfe, yea and his *power* too; for we are well assured from our experience both of *Him* and *Them*, that He alone is able and ready to manage all to our benefit, a great deale better then any else either will or can: And God we hope will encline His Majesties heart to observe his hand in this constant temper of their spirits hitherto against all His gracious offers of this nature.

We observe also in the next place, how His Majesty takes into consideration the Arreares of their Army, or the wants of those Soldiers which *they* the raisers of, were more carefull to *list* then they are to *pay*: their servants we know they were, raised and imployed by them against Him, and now kept together in a needy & bare condition to burden His people, and to keep them in continuall feare, poverty, and bondage: even this very Army, for their satisfaction, and His peoples ease, His Majesty offers to take care of: He thinks in conscience that pay is due unto them, and though they merit it not at His hands, yet being resolved in His *mercy* and *goodnesse* as a *Christian* to pardon their fault, He will like a *King* also, in His *bounty* and *Honor* undertake their payment; which none else (he sees) is really inclined to look after. And this He will doe, without any charge to any, save onely to Himselfe and His owne friends. May He but have His own Rents and Revenues returned to Him, with some few of the *Arreares*, together with some little part of that money which they had gotten by *Sequestrations* and *Compositions* from His owne party, He will undertake that the Army in few moneths shall receive foure hundred thousand pounds; and if that be not sufficient, He will make up the rest by the sale of His owne Lands.

Nay, and more then all this, lest *the devouring of that which is Holy*, should prove a *snare*, and a fire to the greedy and bold adventurers, His Majesty is willing also to take order against the damage of such persons, and for the repayment of all such monies as have by them been lent upon such ingagements.

Nor is here all yet, His Majesty is willing to endeavour the *reparation* of His Enemies lost *reputations*, by suppressing and nulling all Declarations and Protestations, which their own due merits had most justly called forth against them, and all proceedings anent any person for adhering to them.

And now what could these men (in the judgment of Reason) have desired more then was here tendred? they might have had the Authority, the whole command and power of the *Militia*; they might have possessed all the wealth to themselves which they had before, or have gotten lately, from the whole Kingdom: His Majesty would have taken the whole care of paying their *debts* and their *Servants wages*, He would have wiped them also as clean as possibly He could have done, from their black and hellish crimes of Rebellion, oppression, bloud and Treason: And He would have granted further, what ever else they could have asked, in order to their own quiet and security, would they but only let Him come to Treat with them, and suffer His poore people (now at length) to enjoy an ease from war, and a freedom from their heavy pressures.

Affuredly we may conceive those words of the Prophet, 2 *Chr.* 25. 16. to be fully appliable to these men: *God hath even determined to destroy them because they have not hearkned to this counsell, nor accepted of what was here offered to them. Scripture teacheth, that whom God purposeth to make the power of his justice seen upon, he infatuates, to slight and lose the opportunities of their own preservation: Elyes sons hearkned not unto the voice of their Father, because the Lord would slay them (saies the Spirit:)* God did not incline their hearts to listen unto good, because he intended to cut them off for their *evils*. And such may be thought is the case and condition of these men, they have not hearkned to this voice or Message of their publike Father, because the Lords purpose is speedily to call them to a shamefull reckoning for the mischiefs they have done: many *scandals* and *blasphemies* have they cast out against his Anointed, much *peruissnesse* and *perversnesse* have they practised towards Him: much of the *innocent bloud* of their fellow-subjects and brethren have they spilt and shed, much *oppression* have they used upon them, much *hypocrisie* to deceive and cheat them of their peace and mony;
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and much profanation and despite to that Religion and Church, wherein themselves were bred and nourished; and that for these things sake, the wrath of God might come sodainly down upon them, as upon the most speciall Children of disobedience, the Lord hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts to forsake their owne mercy, in rejecting these motions and proffers of their Sovereign: And we believe their natures and dispositions are now so well known by these their refusalls so frequently iterated, by their late Votes or Resolves of having no more to do with the King, by their scandalous Declaration against His Innocency and Honour; and by that other of theirs against the Commissioners of Scotland, that it will be concluded *their hower is spent, their day is past and gone*, they shall never more meet with such advantages of preserving themselves, nor with the like tenders of grace and mercy.

Twenty daies did His Majesty (according to His wonted manner) wait their leisure for an Answer to this His so Gracious Message, and could not so much in all that time as understand from them their receipt of it; which perversnesse and insolency in them, cannot yet cause Him to forbear again sending to them; the welfare of His Subjects is so tender to Him, and their Happinesse so much desired by Him: yea the many and *sud complaints* of the decay of trade, the dearnessse of commodities, and the unsupportable burden of taxes, ecchoing daily from divers parts of His Kingdom into His pious and gentle ears, and threatening a *sodain failing of naturall subsistence*, will not let Him rest or desist in His endeavours for peace, though Himself were to have no share in the benefit of it, and therefore He solicits them again in these words:

His Majesties twentieth Message.

*His Majesties most gracious Message for Peace from
Carisbrooke-Castle, Decemb. 6. 1647.*

CHARLES R.

HAd His Majesty thought it possible that His two Houses could be employed in things of greater concernment then the Peace of this miserable

ferable distracted Kingdom; He would have expected with more patience, their leisure in acknowledging the receipt of his Message of the 16. of *November* last. But since there is not in nature, any consideration preceding to that of Peace, his Majesties constant tenderesse of the welfare of his Subjects, hath such a prevalence with him, that he cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a Personall Treaty: which is, onely, so much the more desired by his Majesty, as it is superior to all other means of Peace. And truly, when his Majesty considers the severall complaints he daily hears from all parts of this Kingdom, That Trade is so decayed, all Commodities so dear, and Taxes so insupportable, that even naturall subsistence will sodainly fail. His Majesty (to perform the Trust reposed in him) must use his uttermost endeavours for Peace, though he were to have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not his Majesty done his part for it, by divesting himself of so much power & authority, as by his last Message he hath promised to do, upon the concluding of the whole Peace? And hath he met with that acknowledgment from his two Houses, which this great Grace and Favour justly deserves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of Peace must fall somewhere else, then on his Majesty.

To conclude, If ye will but consider in how little time this necessary good Work will be done, if you the two Houses will wait on his Majesty with the same Resolutions for Peace, as he will meet you: he no way doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this his Majesties earnest desire of a Personall Treaty, and speedily desire his Presence amongst you: Where all things agreed on, being digested into Acts (till when, it is most unreasonable for his Majesty or his two Houses to desire, each of other
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the least concession) this Kingdom may at last enjoy the blessing of a long-wisht-for Peace.

From Carisbrook-Castle, Decemb. 6. 1647.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers, pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

BEcause His Majesty herein had declared, that this necessary work of Peace may be concluded in a very little time, were their resolutions but like His, and also affirmed, that it would be most unreasonable either for Himself or them, to desire of each other the least Concession, till things agreed on were digested into Acts, therefore did they make halt (more then ever they did before) to send Him four Bills (fully as unconscionable as could be devised) to which they resolve to have His Concession, (as unreasonable a thing as He takes it to be) before He shall get any hopes of a Treaty at their hands: By which also they give Him to see and know, that how short a time soever, Himself fancies this necessary work may be done in, yet 'tis not likely to be concluded with such speed and easinesse: eighteen daies after this Message was sent, those Bills came to His Majesties hand, of what nature they were, that speech of one of those that sent them doth sufficiently discover: *If the King signs them, He undoes Himself; if He doth not, We will:* the world hath seen them, His Majesties Answer at four daies end unto them, was this which follows:

His Majesties twenty first Message.

His Majesties most gracious Answer to the Bills and Propositions presented to Him at Carisbrook-Castle in the Isle of Wight, Decemb. 24. 1647.

CHARLS R.

THe necessity of complying with all engaged interests in these great distempers, for a perfect settlement of Peace, His Majesty finds to be none
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of the least difficulties He hath met with since the time of His afflictions. Which is too visible, when at the same time, that the two Houses of the English Parliament do present to his Majesty severall Bills and Propositions for His consent, the Commissioners for *Scotland* do openly protest against them. So that were there nothing in the case, but the consideration of that difference, His Majesty cannot imagine how to give such an Answer to what is now proposed, as thereby to promise Himself his great end, *A perfect Peace*. And when His Majesty farther considers, how impossible it is (in the condition He now stands) to fulfill the desires of His two Houses; since the only ancient and known waies of passing Laws, are either by his Majesties Personall Assent in the House of Peers, or by Commission under his Great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at such failings in the manner of Adresse, which is now made unto Him. Unlesse his two Houses intend, that his Majesty shall allow of a Great Seal made without his Authority, before there be any consideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the security it self; so for the present, it seems very unreasonable to his Majesty. And though his Majesty is willing to believe, that the intention of very many in both Houses, in sending these Bills before a Treaty, was only to obtain a trust from Him, and not to take any advantage by passing them to force other things from Him, which are either against His Conscience or Honour: Yet his Majesty believes it clear to all understandings, that these Bills contain (as they are now penned) not only the devesting Himself of all Sovereignty, and that without possibility of recovering it, either to Him or his Successours, (except by repeal of those Bills) but also the making his Concessions guilty of the

the greatest pressures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an Arbitrary and Vnlimited power to the two Houses for ever, to raise and levie Forces, for Land or Sea service, of what persons (without distinction or quality) and to what numbers they please. And likewise for the payment of them, to levy what Monies, in such sort, and by such waies and means (and consequently upon the Estates of whatsoever Persons) they shall think fit & appoint. Which is utterly inconsistent with the Liberty & Property of the Subject, and his Majesties trust in protecting them. So that if the Major part of both Houses, shall think it necessary to put the rest of the Propositions into Bills; His Majesty leaves all the world to judge, how unsafe it would be for Him to consent thereunto. And if not, what a strange condition (after the passing of these four Bills) his Majesty and all his Subjects would be cast into. And here his Majesty thinks it not unfit, to wish his two Houses to consider well the manner of their proceeding: That when his Majesty desires a Personall Treaty with them for the settling of a Peace; they in answer, propose the very subject matter of the most essentiall part thereof to be first granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to Posterity: Wherefore his Majesty declares, That neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life his Majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, in case his two Houses shall not afford him a Personal Treaty, shall make him change his resolution, of not consenting to any Act, till the whole Peace be concluded. Yet then, he intends not only to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him; but also to make good all other Concessions mentioned in his Mes-

sage of the 16. of *Novemb.* last. Which he thought would have produced better effects, then what he finds in the Bills and Propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a Personal Treaty, (so passionately is he affected with the advantages which Peace will bring to his Majesty and all his Subjects) of which he will not at all despair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a wel-grounded Peace.) However his Majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two Houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow Subjects miseries.

*Given at Carisbrook-Castle in the
Isle of Wight, Decemb. 28. 1647.*

*For the Speaker of the Lords House pro tempore,
to be communicated to the Lords and Commons
in the Parliament of England at Westminster,
and the Commissioners of the Parliament
of Scotland.*

HIS Majesties Afflictions have been much increased by manifesting His care (as an equall Father) that satisfaction might be given to all *engaged interests*, therefore *Presbyterians, Independents, Army, Scots*, and all whoever they be, that acknowledge a part in them, and remain yet unsatisfied, have reason as *Christians*, as *Subjects*, as *men* for meer gratitude sake, (were there no other reason) to endeavour the *vindication* of those wrongs (at least) which His Majesty hath suffered since He stood forth as their Common Advocate. To prevent their *Audience* (upon the Kings motion) were these *Bills* devised, and sent in this sort unto His Majesty. And for His not consenting so far to their damage, and

to the undoing of all the rest of His Subjects as these *Bills* required, was His Majesty cast into a more hard and miserable Condition (by some degrees) then ever before; having all His *Servants* on the sodain by violence thrust out from Him, not so much as one of His *Divines* allowed unto Him. Himself *confined* to two or three Roomes within the walls of a loathed Prison; *assaulted* frequently He is with evil language, and *tormented* with the spightfull behaviours of the Enemy, *permitted* to see or speak to none but rude Souldiers, who are set to watch Him, and whom He hath hourly cause to look upon, as Assassins appointed for to murder Him: His friends are not suffered to write unto Him, nor His Children to send the remembrance of their duties, yet His Trunks and Pockets are often searched for Letters, with the highest insolency and rudeness that can be shewn. And all this (with much more of like nature then can be expressed) is come upon Him (as it seemeth) for moving in the behalf of all *engaged interests*: and therefore most truly did His Majesty in the Beginning of this Message say (for He hath felt it since) that *He found the complying with all engaged interests in these great distempers, none of the least difficulties He met withall since the time of His Afflictions*: and therefore also (as was said before) were there no other cause, *they are all bound to ingage for Him, till they have set Him free from His present Thralldome.*

And (indeed) the *Scotch Commissioners* (for their parts) began well, in their protesting (in the name of their whole Kingdome) against those unreasonable *Bills*, at the same time, that they were by the English Commissioners presented to His Majesty as *being prejudiciall to Religion, to the Crown, to the union, and interest of both Nations, and directly different from their former mutuall proceedings and engagements*: now His Majesty for taking notice of this (which was uttered in His presence and in the name of a whole Kingdome) is extremely quarrelled at: and because He did not signe the said *Bills* (notwithstanding the said *protest*) He is immediately made close Prisoner, and sensible of more then barbarous usage: the Method of which is in part expressed, in the following *Declaration*, which twenty daies after His close confinement was written by His Majesties own hand, and some twenty daies after that, by the speciall order and providence of him who

is the preserver of Princes brought to light, and published to our view: if any of His people can read or heare the same without melting hearts and yearning bowels towards their King, and inflamed spirits against these tormenters of Him, assuredly they may be suspected to have nothing of Christ, or goodnesse in them.

The Kings Declaration from Carisbrook-Castle, Jan. 18. 1647.

*To all my people of whatsoever Nation,
Quality or Condition.*

AM I thus laid aside, and must I not speak for my selfe? No! I will speak, and that to all my People, (which I would have rather done, by the way of my two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publike Order, neither to make addresses to, or receive Message from me) and who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt Me, and my two Houses? I know none else, for I am sure, you it is, who will enjoy the happinesse, or feel the misery, of good, or ill Government; And we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you; without having a regard (at least in the first place) to particular Interests: And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am, and have bin, in, this long time, and whether my Actions have more tended to the Publick, or my owne particular good; for whosoever will look upon me, barely, as I am Man, without that liberty (which the meanest of my Subjects enjoyes) of going whither, and conversing with whom I will: As a Husband and Father, without the comfort of my Wife and Children; or lastly, as a King, without the least shew of Authority or Power, to protect my distressed Subjects; Must conclude me, not only void of all Naturall

turall Affection, but also to want common understanding; if I should not most cheerfully embrace the readiest way, to the settlement of these distracted Kingdoms: As also on the other side, doe but consider the forme and draught of the Bills lately presented unto me, and as they are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the same spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all my sincere and constant endeavours for Peace, hath had a powerfull influence on this Message; for though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seeme to desire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding my Conscience and Honour, and betraying the trust reposed in me, by abandoning my People to the Arbitrary and Vnlimited Power of the two Houses for ever, for the leavying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without distinction of quality, or limitation for Mony taxes: And if I could have passed them in termes; how unheard-of a condition were it for a Treaty, to grant beforehand the most considerable part of the subject matter? How ineffectuall were that debate like to prove, wherein the most potent Party had nothing of moment left to aske; and the other nothing more to give? So consequently, how hopelesse of mutuall compliance? Without which, a settlement is impossible: Besides, if after my concessions, the two Houses should insist on those things, from which I cannot depart; how desperate would the condition of these Kingdomes be, when the most proper and approved remedy should become ineffectuall? Being therefore fully resolved that I could neither in Conscience, Honour, or Prudence, passe those foure Bills; I onely endeavour'd to make the Reasons and Justice of my Denyall appeare to all the world, as they

they doe to Me, intending to give as little dis-satisfaction to the two Houses of Parliament, (without betraying my own Cause) as the matter would beare : I was desirous to give my Answer, of the 28. of *December* last, to the Commissioners Sealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and sometimes at the desire of the Commissioners) chiefly, because when my Messages or Answers were publickly known, before they were read in the Houses; prejudiciall interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my meaning : For example, my Answer from *Hampton-court*, was accused of dividing the two Nations, because I promised to give satisfaction to the *Scots*, in all things concerning that Kingdome : And this last suffers in a contrary sense, by making me intend to interest *Scotland* in the Lawes of this Kingdome, (then which nothing was, nor is, further from my thoughts) because I took notice of the *Scots* Commissioners protesting against the Bills and Propositions, as contrary to the interests and engagements of the two Kingdomes : Indeed, if I had not mentioned their dissent; an Objection, not without some probability, might have been made against me, both in respect the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the Militia, and in severall other Propositions; and my silence might, with some Justice, have seemed to approve of it : But the Commissioners refusing to receive my Answer Sealed, I (upon the engagement of their, and the Governors Honour, that no other use should be made, or notice taken of it, then as if it had not been seen) read and delivered it open unto them; Whereupon, what hath since passed, either by the Governour, in discharging most of my Servants, redoubling the Guards, and restraining me of my former liberty, (and all this, as himselfe confest,

confest, meerly out of his owne dislike of my Answer, notwithstanding his before said Engagement) or afterwards, by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeale to God and the World, whether my said Answer deserved the reply of such proceedings: besides the unlawfulnessse for Subjects to imprison their King: That, by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not without hope, but that the same God, will, in due time, convert these Afflictions into my advantage: in the meane time, I am confident to beare these crosses with patience, and a great equality of Minde: but by what meanes or occasion I am come to this Relapse in my Affaires, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed, to my two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdome, all, but, what is much more deare to me then my Life, *My Conscience and Honour*; desiring nothing more, then to performe it, in the most proper and naturall way, *A Personall Treaty*. But that which makes me most at a losse, is, the remembring my signall compliance with the Army, and their interests; and of what importance my Compliance was to them; and their often repeated Professions and Engagements, for my just Rights, in generall, at *Newmarket* and *S. Albans*; and their particular explanation of those generals, by their Voted and Re-voted Proposals; which I had reason to understand should be the utmost extremity would be expected from me, and that, in some things therein, I should be eased; (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefe Officers in the Army, if what I have said, be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or my professions to them;

I challenge them and the whole World to produce the least colour of Reason. And now I would know, what it is that is desired : Is it Peace ? I have shewed the way (being both willing, and desirous to performe my part in it) which is, a just compliance with all chiefe interests : Is it Plenty and Happinesse ? they are the inseperable effects of Peace : Is it Security ? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the *Milisia* for my time : Is it Liberty of Conscience ? He who wants it, is most ready to give it : Is it the right administration of Justice ? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament : Is it frequent Parliaments ? I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith : Is it the Arrears of the Army ? upon a settlement, they will certainly be payed with much ease ; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

Thus all the world cannot but see my reall and unweari'd endeavours for Peace, the which (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future, sufferings ; but, if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would, or might doe : What is it that men are afraid to hear from me ? It cannot be Reason, (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable, as to confesse it) and it can lesse be, impertinent or unreasonable Discourses ; for thereby, peradventure I might more justifie this my Restraint, then the causes themselves can do ; so that, of all wonders yet this is the greatest to me : but, it may be easily gathered, how those men intend to govern, who have used me thus : And if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the liberty of this Kingdome, I shall not blush for my selfe, but much
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lament the future miseries of my People; the which, I shall still pray to God to avert; what ever becomes of me.

CHARLES R.

BEhold here all *English-men*, and you of *Scotland, Wales, and Ireland*, in whose manly Breasts doth yet remain any true sparks of right Religion, or Auncient Honour: Behold your King, the breath of your Nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord, under whose shadow you dwelt in peace, injoying wealth many years together, whose yolk was easie and sweet unto you, Behold, behold, He is taken, and snared in a pit, see how sadly He sits in *darknesse and hath no light*; hearken how He complains unto you, out of Prison, that He is *layed aside*, or, *become like a broken vessel*: forgotten (as it were) *like a dead man out of mind*: Shall it be as nothing to you (All you to whom this Appeal is made, this Declaration sent;) that your Protector, your Defender, the Glory of Christians, and Mirrour of Kings is thus used? Have you no feeling of His sufferings? no share in His sorrows? is it not for your sakes, that He indures all these hard and heavy things? can there be named any other reason for them, then because He will not yeild you up to be slaves and bond-men? is He not divested of all His power, stript of His whole Authority, deprived of all His Comforts, barr'd from the sight of Wife and Children, denied Liberty of going whither, and conversing with whom He desires; because He will not consent that you without rule or reason, should be handled and used in this manner? He will not wound His Conscience and Honour in betraying the trust reposed in Him by Almighty God over you; He will not deliver you up into those hands, which have already so much abused you; He will not abandon you to the *unlimited power of the two Houses for ever*: He will not grant them His leave, to *levy Land and Sea forces from among you by violence*, and to maintain them continually *upon you*, at your cost and Charges, and *against you*, to keep you under, without either Law or Limitation: in a word, He will not consent that you should be kept in perpetuall Beggery, and made *Vassals* to your equals and fellows; and for this cause are all these miseries heaped on Him.

Read over again, and view well, *His many Gracious Messages*, and *offers* together with *their unreasonable demands* and *Propositions*; and remember withall, how uncomfortably, how chargeably, nay how miserably every way, you have lived, since these men (who would alwaies rule) have exercised power over you. Oh how is your Gold become dim, since your King hath bin in darkness? How is your fine Gold changed, since He hath been excluded? the pretious stones of the Sanctuary, how have they been defiled, made as Common, and poured out in every street, since He the most pretious of all, hath been refused by these new *Mushroom Master- Builders*? the most Honourable Sons of *Sion*, the Children of your Princes, comparable to fine Gold, how are they esteemed in these daies as earthen pitchers? how have your most Heroick Nobles been vilified and debased; your most Gallant Gentry been trod and trampled under? Your free-borne *Yeomanry*, the sinews of the Kingdome, how have they been tyranniz'd over in their own houses, and how many of all sorts have been begger'd, butcher'd, and destroy'd, since these unhappy men (who would for ever sit aloft) have domineered? How hath the most reverend & learned *Clergie*, the servants of the most high God, been despised, persecuted, and defamed? How is that rich and renowned City, *London*, become as a *Widow*, in the absence of her Husband, by the meanes and operation of these new *usurpers*? How hath her most eminent *Magistrates*, her *Maiores*, and *Aldermen* been imprisoned? Her wealthy *Merchants* impoverished, her *Commons* of all sorts been baffled, and deluded? How hath the lustre of her excellent order, and flourishing government been darkned and obscured? She was so great among the *Nations*, (while her Sovereignes influence shined upon her) that for her Beauty, Freedome, and Splendour above the rest, she was reckoned a *Princessse* among all the *European* Provinces, being as rich in Treasures, as she was in People: But now, alas! how is she become a *Captive*, and a *Tributary* to her owne servants? She now weepeth sore, (at least she hath cause so to doe, and that as well in regard of her deception, and her sin, as of her misery) for that among all her lovers, (whom she so foolishly, and so wickedly doted on) she hath none to comfort her: for all those her friends whom she trusted in, have dealt treacherously with her, and are become her enemies, yea her most vexatious

venomious Tormenters : And because our most Christian King is not willing to signe a *Bill of perpetuity*, for the continuation of these sad Calamities upon her, upon you, and upon us all for ever, therefore is He tortured in that manner as we see and hear : therefore is His Princely Honour blasted, His Royall good name defamed, His Regall power, Authority, and Revenues taken away and kept from Him ; His pious Conscience assaulted, His sacred person imprisoned, and every day in danger to be massacred, and murdered. O may it not well be asked and said, *Was there ever sorrow, like unto his sorrow*, for such a cause ? Were there ever wrongs like unto these that are done unto our King, because He will not consent to the utter undoing of us his people ? Assuredly, never was people more wretched, and accursed then we shall be, (and that meritoriously) both of God and Men, if we suffer this, and doe not stand up and appeare for His deliverance.

For what are *these men* that thus tyrannize over our Sovereign, and over us ? are they not his *vassals*, and our *fellowes*, nay our *servants* entrusted by us to manifest and present the tenders of our duty and reverence unto him ; and doth it not concerne us therefore, to bring them to correction, (as the case now stands with the King) for these their grosse enormities ; will not their impieties, and exorbitancies else be laid to our charge ? Nay, doe they not in their *impudencie* act all their wickednesses in our names ? would they not have their late defamatory Libell to be understood as the expression of our senses ? Doe they not call it *The Declaration of the Commons*, (*scil.* of *England*, as if we (at least) gave allowance to it, or set them awork to make it ? When, as God and our consciences doe beare us witnesse, we loathe it with our very soules, as the most horrid heap of the most shamelesse lies, blasphemies and slanders, that ever was spued up against Majesty and Innocencie by men or devils, since the first Creation. Nay, have they not since their publication of it, tempted and provoked many of the ignorant of us, in divers Countries, to set our Hands to Papers coined by themselves, of Gratulations to themselves, for venting the same, and for making those their wicked Votes against our Sovereigne, the Lords Anointed ? Doe they not hereby plainly endeavour (Satan-like) to involve our soules in their owne guilt, and to plunge them for ever in the same pit of damnation with

themselves? As if it were not enough that they have already wasted us all, in our estates; and wounded the consciences of too many of us, by engaging us (through their false pretences of *Religion, Liberty, and Privilege of Parliament*) to associate with them in this unnaturall War, unless they doe this also: And have they not menaced others of us, because we refused to approve of this their late most abominable wickednesse, and went about rather to move for His Majesties Liberty and restoration? Have they not threatned to plunder and sequeller us of all we have yet remaining, if we proceeded to make any motions or requests to that purpose? as if they had a spight and malice at Almighty God himselfe, for opening our eyes at length, and bringing us out of that darknesse, wherein they had shut us, and hoped alwayes to keep us: and for his touching our hearts with remorse and sorrow for our former compliance with them, as if also we must never dare to speak more, but onely such words as they shall suggest, and put into our mouthes; nor to set our hands unto any thing but what they (forsooth) shall frame and dictate to us; And is this the *Freedom of the Subject* so much cryed up? Is this the *Liberty* which the people of *England* have so fought for? Is this our so flourishing state of happinesse which was promised by our blessed Reformers? *Serò sapiunt phryges*, fooles may grow wise at length, and so from henceforth shall we, for ever following them any farther, or being guided by them any more, who by their glorious professions and protestations have seduced us already so far from the wayes of God.

We cannot but call to mind, the proceedings of this Palliament, (or of this *Thing* which so calls it selfe, being in very deed, but a *corrupt faction* in it :) How at first they framed a *Protestation Generall*, for the matter of it good, (we still confesse and acknowledge) but the deep subtilty and *intrigo* of it, was not then apparent to us: But now we consider how they did (without the Kings sanction and ratification) little lesse then *impose* it upon the whole Kingdome, whereby they slyly crept into a kind of unexampld authority, no way belonging to them; which they cunningly masked, under the specious pretences of pious respects to the *Protestant Religion*, Loyall regards to *His Majesties Person and Dignity*, and of their serious care of the *Priviledges of Parliament*,

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Properties and Liberties of the Subject: no one of which (as we now see by their actions) was ever in their thoughts to preserve, for their whole endeavours have since been, and still are, to destroy and suppress all these: but hereby at first they catch'd us in their net, and carryed us downe the streame with them.

And having thus surpris'd us, Jealousies and Fears presently began to surprize them; which also the whole Kingdome must be sensible of, as if all the things to be defended by the *Protestation* were in some eminent danger of sodaine destruction: to prevent which a *Petition* is framed in all haste by themselves, and sent downe into all Countries to be subscribed there, and sent back as the unanimous desire of the whole Kingdome, that *Bishops and Popish Lords*, (who must be apprehended the conjoynt and deadly enemies to all good things contained in the *Protestation*) might be put out of *Parliament*; that the Kingdome might be put into a posture of defence (or war) against them and their Complices; and the better to colour and credit the businesse, we must desire in the same *Petition* to have a monethly fast Authorized. And we well remember, there was care taken at that very time; (lest this mystery of Iniquity that was in working should be discovered to us:) that the Learned *Seers*, or *watchmen* of God (who were most likely to to make it known,) should be exposed to scorne and contempt, under the name of *Prelaticall, Scandalous, and Malignant Clergie*; that so their Testimonies might be of no esteeme with us; and a generation of men full of ignorance, covetousnesse or discontentes, were countenanced and advanced over us, as fitly instrumentall and subservient to the designe on foot, which (now we finde) was only to ruine our King, and us.

The Consequents of this *Petition* appeared soon after to be these. 1. An alteration or change of military Officers, the Train-Bands being committed into the hands onely of such as were called *Confiding men*. 2. The appointment of a Guard to defend our worthies of *Parliament*, (as they were entitled.) And 3. An exposall of the Kings Person and Government to all possible danger and disgrace: And that 1. By a most scandalous Remonstrance, wherein the sins of themselves and others (who had been His ill Officers) were all layed to His Charge. 2. By setting the Tumultuous People upon Him, to drive Him from *Westminster*.
And

And then 3. By raising an Army to fetch Him back again, as was pretended, though in very deed we finde now, it was to destroy Him rather.

We remember how they told us then, that *the King was amongst them in His politick Capacity*; whereby they had full power to act, even as if He had been personally there; but if He were suffered to be absent, He would doubtlesse in *His naturall Capacity* be very mischievous to the Kingdome; having such ill Counsellours about Him, (as they said He had) and such damned Cavaliers, who (as their preachers taught us to beleeve for good Doctrine) were as bad as devills; and whose very shapes and faces *the Lord (in his judgement) had already so altered, that they did not now look like men, as formerly, but like strange horrid monsters*: So that God having set a visible mark of His vengeance upon them, as He did on Cain; our duty was, and we were bound in Conscience to pursue them as *Reprobates*, and as men cursed of God, unlesse our selves would runne the hazard of that bitter Curse which was layed upon the *Inhabitants of Meröz, because they did not help the Lord against the Mighty*. After this manner they seduced us, and led us, (too many of us) to think ill of the King, and of those that were Conscientious and faithfull unto Him.

Having thus comforted themselves with His Majesty in the Empire, by their incroaching on His Authority; and thus gulled us by this device of His *Politick* and *naturall Capacity*; (as if being arm'd or Authorized by the one, we might destroy him in the other:) Which distinction, we now understand (since the returne of Reason to us) to be but a meer vaporious Fancy, a grosse Bull, a very absurd Juggle, invented by state Empericks to cheat silly people into disorder and disobedience.

And we are confident, if we shall now goe about to pay them the interest of this their distinction, and make it good upon themselves, (as indeed we ought to endeavour for in such a case onely, it may goe for curreant) themselves would be directly of our opinion: Should we but tell them, that we consider of them two wayes, in a *Politick*, and in a *Naturall* capacity: As they are in the first, we honour and worship them; we love them, and regard them, as they are members of the *Body Politick Representative*;

ive; but (by their favours) in their *naturall Capacity*, as they are men, we intend to order and handle them as *Rebels, Traytors, parricides, fratricides, thieves, and murderers* use to be dealt withall, even according to Law and Justice, and the due desert of their owne merits: let them aske their own hearts whether in such a case, and at such a time they will readily approve of it.

But hereby (as we were saying) they began to raise Forces in the name of *King and Parliament*; and under that stile (or rather Contradiction) Commissions are issued, Souldiers are levied, and Taxes of divers sorts and unheard-of names imposed upon us the Kings Subjects; to fight against and oppress our King, (as we now perceive) and to take His Regall power directly from Him: for they are not ashamed now to publish (in plain English) before all the world, that this Warre was undertaken to wrest the *Militia and Legislative power* from the King and His Posterity: In the 64. pag. of their late *Declaration against the Scots*, (or concerning the Papers of the *Scots Commissioners*:) their words to this purpose are these, *The Kingdome of Scotland* (say they) *engaged with us, in this war, upon these Principles, viz. for to have the Legislative power, and the exercise of the Militia, without, and against the Kings consent.*

If the *Kingdome of Scotland* did engage with them, on these terms, and for these ends (as they now tell us) yet we are confident that the people of *England*, were better instructed then to do so, for they had not so learned *Christ*, who commands to give unto *Cesar*, the things that are *Cesars*, and not to take them away from Him. We were here told of no other causes of the war, then to maintain *Protestant Religion*, established in this Church, to defend the *Kings Person, Honour, and Estate*, and to free Him from ill Counsellours, and to preserve the *Priviledges of Parliament*, the *Laws of the Land*, and *Liberties of the Subject*, and to bring *Delinquents to punishment*, all which we were assured (and that from the Pulpit too) as well as from the Parliament and the Presse, were lawfull causes for a War; though now we see how we were abused in that also, for *Christian verity* gives warrant to none of them, unlesse withall, we have the call and allowance of the *Supream Authority*. Yea and besides, how many times did these *Declarers* protest before all the world, that it was not in their

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thoughts,

thoughts, to loosen the reines of Government, or to diminish any of the Kings rights: no, we professe (said they) in the sight of Almighty God, which is the strongest obligation of a Christian, &c. that no ill Affection to His Majesties Person, no designe to the prejudice of His just Honour and Authority, ingaged us to raise Forces, and to take up Armes. And again, We professe from our very hearts and souls, our Loyalty and Obedience to His Crown, our readinesse and resolution to defend His Person, and support His estate with our lives and fortunes to the uttermost of our powers: And again oftentimes, God deal so by them, as they intended to make Him terrible to His Enemies abroad, and glorious among His friends at home, &c. And yet now they tell the world (after all this) that they ingaged at the very first in this War to have the Legislative power, and the exercise of the Militia, without and against the Kings consent: and they say the Scots ingaged with them herein; which we scarce believe, for we know the Scots are too politick and wise a Nation, then not to foresee their own damage, if the Legislative power, and the Militia of this Kingdome, should be wrested out of the hands of the King, their Country-man and Sovereign; and put solely into the hands of those, who have no such relations or Affections to them. And (beside) the Scots Commissioners had said, (as these their opposers do alleage in the same page) that they were obliged by their Covenant, Allegiance, and Duty of Subjects, not to diminish, but to support the Kings just Power and Greatnesse: and therefore, we have reason to believe, they did not intend the Contrary at the beginning, and the rather, because these men say they did, whom we never yet found true in any thing.

Indeed, in Answer to that of the Scots Commissioners, they affirm (though without proof or reason) that *the King Contrary to His Oath, had diminished the just Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subjects; and how (say they) can He that breaks down the hedge, complain of incroachment upon His severall?* so that the Kings pretended incroachment on them, is now become a warrant for them to incroach really upon Him; and to take away all His Kingly power from Him, only because (by their own sole testimony) He had made a *diminution* of somewhat that belonged to them. This is good Parliament Divinity, as the world goes in these daies, fetched sure out of the *Turks Alchoran*, or else

else from among the *Savage Heathens* in *New England*; for no *Protestant*, no true *Christian*, nor no *Parliament* before this, did ever allow or connive at it, much lesse urge or allage it, to warrant themselves in the practice of it.

But we cannot passe by, without observation, how they prove their fore-mentioned Charge against the *Scots* in the same page, *Some of these very Commissioners* (say they) *were amongst the forwardest, to ingage the Kingdoms in a joynt War upon the Principles fore-named* (viz. to exercise the Legislative power, and Militia without and against the Kings consent) *also in Oaths and Covenants to be imposed on both Kingdoms, in Taxes to raise Money upon them, taking away the Book of Common Prayer and establishing the Directory instead thereof, and in divers other things, wherein the highest exercise of the Legislative power doth consist.* These be their Arguments, whereby they speak themselves to be as bad *Legislators*, as they are *Christians*. Their doings since they began, are alleged as Reasons to prove why they began: and their unjust Actions in their progresse, are made the grounds and warrants of and for their ungodly undertaking.

But did any of those *Oaths and Covenants*, (which were imposed on both or either of the Kingdoms) mention the cause of the war or of peoples engagement to be, for to take the *Legislative power and the Militia totally from the King*, and to have it exercised without and against His consent? if any such matters had been expressed, we are very confident, they would have had but few either *English or Scots*, joyning in Covenant with them, or lending their Assistance.

But in pag. 66. of the same Declaration, they would fain suggest, that though there be no Reason, yet there is some likelihood of Reasonableness, in this their injustice, and wrongfull dealings, in taking the *Legislative Power and Militia* from the King: for they argue thus:

It is much more likely (say they) *that a King should be mistaken, then the Great Councell of the Kingdom, and that a King should stop that which is for the good of the whole Kingdome, then that the whole Kingdome represented in Parliament should desire what should be for their own hurt: And 'tis much more likely, that a King should make use of one of His Kingdoms to oppresse another, than He might make*

Himself absolute over all (if He hath the Militia and Power in His hand,) then that He should (with the same) hinder one Kingdome to wrong another, or all the Subjects of a Kingdome to wrong themselves.

We do very well remember, that many of us (the Common people of England) were befooled with these their *likelyhoods* at the beginning, for they used these very expressions *then* unto us: but we can now answer them from our own experience, better then we could at that time do: and we say, 'tis much more certain that a King hath been, is, and will be, much more tender of the blood of His Subjects, much more indulgent of the wealth of His people, much more carefull to maintain and preserve them in their Rights, and to keep them from oppressing one another, then those are, or have been who now call themselves *the Great Council of the Kingdome*. We are sure, *there are more of a Parents bowels in Him,* (for we have felt them) *then there is of Brotherly affection in them, towards us,* (which we have had some feeling of too, though to our grief and sorrow.) And therefore we can and must conclude, that *the Subjects are far more happy every way, and free from being oppressed by one another, under the fatherly Government of a King, then under the tyrannous usurpation of fellow-Subjects:* for we now remember that God hath promised in expresse words, to guide the King so, *that his lips shall not transgresse in Judgment:* but we find no such promise made to a *Parliament*, that resolves to act *without, and against their Kings consent:* we know that Scripture saith, *the Kings heart is in Gods hand,* and from thence we now believe it was, that His Government was so just and gentle; but the Actions and behaviours of these men hath fully perswaded us, that *their Hearts be in the Devils hand* whereby it hath come to passe, that their purposes and their practices have been so bloody, so mischievous, and so destructive.

And yet *these men* supposing (as it seems) that we are all as bruit Beasts, in respect of themselves (having *no understanding* at all, but must submit still to be held in, *with their Bits and Bridles,*) do declare, that *the Militia is the foundation of security to them and to their posterity;* as if we were all bound to believe, and had reason for it, that their *blessed selves, and their precious posterity,* were rather to be secured and preserved thereby, then the King and
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His : and in page 70. they argue as *Rabsakeb* did, from their success, that God favoured their unrighteous doings, and was even *such another as themselves*, directly of their opinion ; the dispute (say they) concerning the *Militia*, hath been long, and sadly debated both in black and red letters, but God himself hath now given the verdict on our side.

And in the very same place they tell all us English-men (as if the *Militia* had never yet been in His Maj. sties hand, or we had quite forgotten our freedom, happiness and prosperity under Kingly Government) that our *Magna Charta*, our *Courts of Justice*, our *High Court of Parliament* it self, our *Lives*, *Liberties* and *Estates* ; that we are not all at the will of one man ; that the King cannot make *Laws*, nor raise *Monies* without consent of *Parliament* ; and that all *Offenders* may be punished in *Courts of Justice* ; all this (say they) signifies nothing at all to us, if the *Militia* by *Sea* and *Land* be in the King alone, we are all absolute slaves, and by so much in a worse Condition because we think our selves at *Liberty*. All this of theirs doth but shew us, what opinion they have of us, for our giving so much credit to them heretofore ; But truly we shall deserve to be their *absolute slaves* for ever, (as they would have us) and to be branded to all posterity for *absolute fools* too, and for the *rankest Cowards* that ever were, if this their Language (were there nothing else) should not fill us up, with high disdain against them, and make us resolve never to desist, till we have made them know both themselves and us better.

And to awaken our spirits more yet, let us hear what they say further in the same place to our conceived simplicities. How ridiculous (say they) are those *Laws* which may be violated by force, and by force not be defended : (who hath violated our *Laws* by force but themselves ? and who hath been the defender of them but the King whose *Laws* they are ?) And what a mock *Authority* (say they) is that of *Courts of Justice*, and of the *High Court of Parliament* it self, if it be not accompanied with the power of the sword, when by the power of the sword it shall be opposed, affronted, resisted, their *summons* scorned, their *Messengers* kicked about the streets, their *Votes* and *Judgments* derided. A mock *Authority* indeed that is, and a mock *Parliament* too that disclaims Him, from whom it self derives its being, and to whom God and the *Law* hath committed the power of the *Sword*. We

We have had heretofore many Parliaments, but never read or heard of any, while they kept their integrity, and adhered to their maker, that conven'd them together, who were ever *opposed, affronted, resisted*, or had any of their *summons scorned, their Messengers kicked about the streets, or their Votes and Judgements derided*: therefore all this is but *copia verborum*, some flowers of *Rebellious Rhetorick*, whereby they thinke to keep silly fools, (such as they take us still to be) in that vile Captivity unto themselves, wherein they formerly had, and led us.

Yea and pag. 73. of that their so *bonny Declaration*, they tell us to the everlasting comfort both of us, and of our purses; that tis necessary that their Armies be kept still on foot, even so long as themselves, and their posterities shall sit, which they make account shall be but *in perpetuum*, from *Generation to Generation* till the worlds end: their words are these, *for the Parliaments consulting freely, and acting securely it will be necessary (as we have ever done since the War) to keep up forces; which were they all disbanded (as the Scotch Commissioners desire) we should not long consult freely and act securely*: They mean sure in cutting our throats, in banishing, imprisoning, and hanging our persons, in sequestring our estates, in oppressing, plundering, and taking from us our goods and fortunes, in destroying our Religion, peace, and order, for nothing else do we know they have *consulted* about, or *acted* since they first raised their *Forces*, or begun their war; we have had *Parliaments* before now, that have behaved themselves a great deale better, then these *Declarers* have done; that have *consulted* better, and *acted* better every way; and yet never thought it necessary, either to raise or keep up *Forces* for their owne guard or safety: No, for they were fenc'd with *Innocency*, and *Noblenesse of Spirit*; with their *owne uprightness* and their *Countries Love*, which together with the Guard of God, and his Angels, was their *Protection*; they desired no other *Militia* then *Faith* and a good *Conscience* to secure them. For why, they had never bath'd themselves in their Countries bloud, nor foul'd their hands with oppression, nor any way deserved the *odium* of their Nation. But these men shew what they have merited by their fears; and discover, that as they raised *Forces* at first, *to subdue the King*, so they intend now to keep them up *to subdue the Kingdoms*, and to keep those
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in low slavery, whose help they have had against Him: and so they will pay their servants, (for as such onely they account those whom they have imployed or made use of) *a la mode du diable*, in that manner as Satan rewards those that work for him.

And now the world sees at *Leist*, who began the war at *first*, and hears from them who know best, what was the true cause thereof; *even to wrest the Legislative power, and the Militia out of the Kings hands, and to exercise the same without and against His consent.* How true their former clamours have been, that the King first took up Armes against the Parliament; and that the Parliament was only on the defensive part, let the very seduced part of men now judge. His sacred Majesty in his great wisdom saw this to be their end at first, and told the world of it, but could not be heard or beleaved, so loud a noise was made to the contrary: themselves (in the 68. pag. of that their Declaration) tell the Scotch Commissioners (who had said, *it was contrary to their judgments and Oath of Allegiance to divest the Crown, the King and His Posterity of the right and power of the Militia*) that they fortifie their opinion with the very same Arguments, and almost in the very same words, as the King did at the beginning of this war, in His Declarations, whereby they acknowledge, that His Majesty even then, had spoken to that purpose. It is hoped therefore, that all men doe now apprehend, who they are that (all this while) have been the Deceivers.

Againe, the world also hath now seen, how far and wherein His Majesty hath been averse to peace, since the beginning of the war: He would not hitherto be either forced or perswaded to resigne up wholly and for ever unto them, that which from the very first they resolved to have from Him; *the Legislative power, and the Militia of the Kingdome to be exercised without and against Himself.* to the perpetuall enslavement and thraldome of all us His poor Subjects; whom God hath committed to his trust to protect and defend; And therefore (if it were lawfull for Subjects upon any occasion to imprison their King) yet what great cause or substantiall reason these have had to do so, or to use their Sovereigne as they have done, to resolve to make no more addresses, or applications to Him, let the world judge.

And from these many gracious Messages of His Majesty for peace,

peace, thus slighted, contemned, and despised by them. let their little modesty and candour, or rather their great shamelesnesse and impudency be observed in their making the *foundation* of their *impious Votes*, to be *His aversenesse unto peace*, and in beginning their *Declaration* against Him in that manner as they have done : viz. in these words :

How fruitlesse our former Addresses have been to the King, is so well known to the world that it may be expected we shall now declare, why we made the last, or so many before, rather then why we are resolved to make no more.

We cannot acknowledge any great confidence, that our Words could have been more perswasive with Him, then Sighs and groanes ; the Tears and crying Blood (an heavy crie) the Blood of Fathers, Brothers, and Children at once, the Blood of many hundred thousand Free-borne Subjects in Three great Kingdomes, which cruelty it self could not but pity to destroy.

We must not be so unthankfull to God as to forget we were never forced to any Treaty; and yet we have no lesse then seven times made such Applications to the King, and tendred such Propositions, that might occasion the world to judge, we have not onely yeelded up our wils and Affections, but our Reason also and judgement, for obtaining any true Peace or Accommodation. But it never yet pleased the King to accept of any Tender fit for us to make, nor yet to offer any fit for us to receive.

Be judges in this case, (O all ye people of the World) now you have read and seen what *offers* and *tenders* the King hath made, what reason these men had thus to 'peale Him ? thinke you not they are men of credit, worthy to be trusted another time, fit to be beleevd in all they say further in the sequele of their *Declaration*, sith their modesty and truth is such in the first page of it ? Assuredly you cannot that conclude, but *this of theirs* is the most groundlesse, shamelesse, malicious, and impudent slander, that ever was printed, (by such an Authority as is pretended) against such a Person : And a *Lye* (pardon that *Scotch* word) so *gross*, and so *thick* that like the *darkenesse of Egypt*, it may be felt.

O consider well of it, (you the Subjects of this Kingdome) and rouze up your selves at length, in the behalf of your Sovereign and of your selves : remember the Honour and dignity of your forefathers,

thers, the wisdom and valour that made them so famous and so feared : O where, where is the Auncient Gallantry of this *Noble Nation*? where is that life & courage, that was wont to kindle and flame in English-men, when they saw themselves esteemed simple; and contemned as base and vile? what is it all dead and buried in snow and cold Ashes? shall it be thought that no sparks of it are yet remaining in your natures? will you suffer servants alwaies to rule over you; to inflave and intrall *both you and your King*? awake for shame (or else for ever worthy to be despised) and look about you, bethink (at length) what you have to do.

Was ever Nation so gull'd as you have been? so overreach'd by Cheaters? did ever any who caried in their breasts the spirits of men, delight to be so abused by their fellows? to be made fools, used like Asses, and so accounted? and will you affect it? shall they, who triumph over you, think you alwaies *Children without understanding*? surely had they not believed you, as full of *weaknesse* still, as themselves are of *wickednesse*, they would not with that boldnesse, have imagined to flamm you off, with so base a *Narrative* against your Sovereigne; as if thereby they had given a satisfactory reason to your *simplicities*, for all those wrongs which they have done Him.

And what do they aime at hereby, but to make Him most odious and contemptible, who of all men living deserves the greatest Reverence, Love and Honour? and why do they this? but to the end, that they might have some colour to destroy Him.

And *will you Crucifie your King*? (saies *Pilate* to the people of the *Jews*) as if he had said, what an unheard-of vilany will that be? How doth the Curse cleave to that Nation for that act unto this very day? so may it not be said to you (O people of *England*) will you murder your King? will you suffer your most pious and gracious King, after all these unspeakable abuses, which He hath already indured (for your sakes) at the hands of your Servants, (or *Representatives* as they call themselves) to be destroyed by them? if you play the *Jewes*, you shall be payed like Jewes, you and your Posterity shall grone under the *Curse of God and man* for ever: *qui non vetat peccare cum potest, jubet*; not to prevent a mischief when you may, is directly to command it to be done.

As *Abraham* by going in to his Fathers Concubines, on the house-

top, declared in the sight of all *Israel*, that He meant the breach should be irreconcilable, betwixt his Father and him : so have *these men*, by this their *Declaration* spoken loudly to all the world, that their intentions are, that the difference shall never be made up, betwixt their *Sovereign* and themselves : but (indeed) herein we may observe, that their impudence doth far exceed *Abfoloms* : for while he was on *the house-top*, committing his wickednesse, he did not accuse the King his Father of the same sin, or lay heavily to his charge that very evill which himself was then in acting ; as *these men* have done ; for they in their *Declaration*, do burden their Sovereigne with their own faults ; they tax Him of those very things which themselves have committed ; and that not only heretofore (when they were His ill Officers and Servants) but even now are acting at this very instant time before our faces, and upon our selves while they are exclaiming upon His Majesty.

And when should the King make Himself liable to all this blame and *odium* which they cast upon Him, was it since they promised to make Him so glorious ? Themselves do not affirm this, but as they pretend a great while before : how comes it then to passe that in their present judgments, He who was formerly deemed fit to be made the *most glorious Prince in Christendome*, and promised so to be, (if He would but comply with them in those things that should be for His owne Honour and the Kingdomes good) is now in their present judgments (being still the same) become worthy of so much hatred as is here manifested, and not fit to have any more Addresses made unto Him ? bad are the memories of these men, the change of their condition hath made them quite forget their former principles and professions : what credit (think you) can be given henceforth unto them ? what confidence can be put in any of their promises ? is it not likely they will fail you, (who ere you be that trust them) as they have done their Sovereigne ? nay, have they not failed you enough already ? do you look they will ever repay that Mony (with eight in the hundred interest) which they took up of you in *Publike Faiths* name ? what speciall respect do you observe, the City *London*, and the adjoyning Associate Counties do now find from them for all that wealth, countenance, and assistance which hath been afforded to them ? doe not they (like their owne father Sa-
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tan) exact most still from those, whom they have found most compliable, and most yeilding?

Nay more then this, do they not now discover a manifest adherence to the *schismaticall Army*, (which they intitle *the faithful Army*) against the City, the Associate Counties, the whole *Kingdome*, and *Scotland* too, as well as against the *King*? have not some of the unfavory *Aldermen*, Members of the *Commons House*, gone senting up & down of late, and soliciting men to ingage themselves, *to live and die with the Parliament, and the Army*? and against whom? but *King and Kingdome*, who it seems are now looked upon, as one again, and conjoynd (though it be in the notion of Common Enemies) by these good Counsellours, these faithfull Representatives, that broke the friendly union. And what doth this new Ingagement speak unto you? but that their intentions are to rule from henceforth by the Sword, & without all Law, (save that of war) to keep you under. You may remember at first, 'twas *King and Parliament* they cried up, then *Parliament and Kingdome*, but now at length 'tis come to be *the Parliament and the Army*: so that you see how unsetled they are; how *God hath made them like to a wheel* in continuall motion, and therefore no confidence is to be put in them.

They promise now that *they will settle the Kingdome without the King*; who unsetled it but themselves? and for what cause did they so, but that themselves might reigne over us? and will they lay down their Rule, Authority and Power? surely no; and yet this they must be forced to do before the Kingdome will ere be settled. But how will they settle this Kingdom without the King? even as they have settled *Ireland*: they would never be quiet (as you all know) till the management of the war there (which themselves also (as is now believed) had an hand in raising,) might be wholly in their hands, with exclusion of His Majesty, (whom God hath appointed:) and too many of you the people (in the simplicity of your spirits) were for them against your Sovereign; and desired that the Parliament without the King might take order for that *Businesse*, and now you understand too plainly how well they have ordered the same, these two last years in speciall (while they had nothing else to mind, and have kept so many lazy Officers and Souldiers to burden and oppresse you.) O how

do the poor neglected and straved Soldiery in that lost Kingdom, as well as the ruinated Protestants there, pour forth now their deserved *execrations*, and *curses* against these deceitfull and false-hearted men ! How are they now brought to beleave and forced to confesse, that *none is, nor was, so tenderly affected towards them as the King*, and that Gods blessing will not concur with any endeavours there, till they be managed againe by Him, whom God hath intrusted ! O *remember Ireland, remember Ireland*, Happy may you be yet once againe in this Kingdom, if the miseries which have been felt in that, (since *these new Masters* tooke upon them to be the sole disposers of affaires there) may make you wary ; O take heed therefore in due time you do not beleave them, when they say, *they will settle the Peace of this Kingdom Without the King.*

Againe, they promised to *set up Jesus Christ in the Throne of his Kingdome*, but they meant themselves onely in the Throne of *this* : for do you not see how they have gone about it, and how far they have advanc'd their worke in 7. years ? Have they not imprisoned & turned out of Gods *Vineyard* the most faithfull and painfull *Labourers* ; forbidden them to preach in that name ; or to publish that truth which this Church professeth, and themselves protested to maintaine ? How many Congregations at this present want Pastors in this famous City ? and how many thousand Parishes are destitute in the Countries of right teaching ? now for what cause is all this ? why are Gods Prophets thus knocked off from their employments ? wherefore are they inhibited the doing of their duties & is it for any thing else, then because they inveigh against that wickednesse which God abhorreth ? are they not for this sole reason said to be enemies to the Parliament & to preach against that ? why do they not say in plaine termes, the *Parliament cannot sin* ? or that *sin* and *that* are all one, and must not be reprov'd ? or else (having nothing else to lay to their charge) why do not they suffer Gods Messengers to declare their Ambassage ? or if they will not so, let them (at least) discover themselves as openly in this, at they have done in other particulars ; for though they said as first, they tooke up Armes to *remove ill Counsellors, and to bring Delinquents to punishment* ; yet now they can speake out and say, it was to *wrest the Legislative power and Mili-*

via out of His Majesties Hand: and though they promised at first to make the King MOST GLORIOUS, yet now they blush not to proclaime we will not have this man to reigne over us, we will make no more addressees to Him, we will exercise Authority without Him and against Him. So, though they promised at first to set up Christ in His Throne, let them now tell us in plaine English also, that they meane to thrust Him, and all that truly professe Him (according to the right Doctrine of the Gospel) out of this Land, for this is the very language of all their Actions.

Againe, they pretended great Emnity unto *Popish Doctrines and Tenents*; and Episcopacy was pull'd down out of zeale against *Popery*, (as if that had been a friend unto it.) With what clamours did they represent unto the people *Secretary Windebanks* intercourse with *Jesuites*, and *Popish Priests*; and the *Bishops* Chaplaines licencing of Books, supposed to be *Popish*; and yet these very men have permitted *Mabbot* (the allowed Broaker of all these venomous scriblings) to Authorize the Printing a booke of *Parsons* the *Jesuite*, full of the most *Popish* and *Treasonable positions* that were ever vented, for very good Doctrine; nay more then this, have they not contributed 30*l.* toward the charge of Printing the same? & when (after its publication) it was told them by some, that the said booke had been condemned by Parliament in the 35. of *Queen Elizabeth*, and that the Printer thereof was Hang'd, drawne, and quarter'd for the same; & that it was then enacted, that whosoever should have it in their house, should be guilty of high Treason, when all this was related to some of the Committee of Examinations, did they not stop their eares at it? did they not slight those that thus spake unto them? their owne Consciences know all this to be true; and that we are able to prove it before the World; yet these be the men (forsooth) that hate *Popery*.

This *Popish Booke* (which we speake of) was at first published Anno 1524. under the name of *Dolman*, and intituled a conference about the succession of the Crowne, it consists of two parts, whereof the first containes a discourse of a *Civill Lawyer*, How and in what manner propinquity of blood is to be preferred: it is divided into 9. Chapters: all which this blessed Reforming Parliament, hath now published under the Title of *Severall speeches delivered at a conference concerning the power of Parliaments, to proceed against*

their King, for misgovernment : they were all Answered (as they are in the *Jesuites* booke) by Sir John Haward Doctor of the Civill Law in the year 1603. and Dedicated to King James (which Answer is common in Bookfellers shops to be still sold.

Now there is no difference, betwixt *this* book published by this Parliament, and that of the *Jesuite* condemned by *that* other, An. 35. *Eliz.* but onely this : when the *Jesuite* mentions the Apostles, He addes the word Saint to their names S. John, S. James, S. Peter, which the Author of this new Edition leaves out, and saies plaine John, James, and Peter : and perhaps in some places the word *Parliament* is put in stead of the word *Pope*, or *people* : nay the variation is so little that it speakes the publisher a very weake man, and those that set him on work none of the wisest in employing so simple an Animall, in a businesse of so great concernment : we shall instance but in one passage.

Old Dolman or Parsons had said in the year 1594. that many were then living in England, who had seen the severall Coronations of King Edw. the 6. Queen Mary, and Queen Eliz. and could witness, &c. Now our young Dolman or Walker (for that is the wisemans name) supposing that all those people, were alive still that were old men 54. yeers agoe, like a true Transcriber, without the variation of a letter, affirms it confidently, (in pag. 43. of his Edition) that many are yet living in England, that have seen the severall Coronations of King Edw. the 6. Queen Mary, and Queen Eliz. (to which he also addeth) King James and King Charls (because they were crowned since) and this we confesse is new in him.

Now by this very booke alone (though much more we might say to this purpose) tis very evident, that these Children of *Abaddon* love the *Jesuites* Doctrine well enough, so it comes not out in the *Jesuites* owne name, if it be but authorized by themselves or those appointed to publish and Licence books for the Parliament : O then 'tis very excellent good and Orthodoxall.

And now shall not these doings so palpably vile and grosse inflame your spirits (O English-men) and quicken you up to free your selves from their thraldome who thus abuse you ? will you suffer them still to proceed till they have stubbed up and quite o'rthrowne Christianity, from among you ? you now see plainly
enough

enough, what they meant at first by *Roote and branch*: it was not Episcopacy only *Roote and branch*: but Monarchy also *Roote and branch*; the King and his Posterity *Roote and branch*, the Nobility and Ancient Gentry *Roote and branch*. Peace and prosperity, honesty and Loyalty, *Roote and branch*, with Protestant profession it selfe, and all that good is, which in your *Protestation* generall you vowed to maintaine; 'tis fit you should observe it, All the particulars in the said *Protestation* save onely one, are already averted and welnigh destroyed: the Religion and worship of Christ established in the English Church, how is that suppressed and persecuted? His Majesties Person, Honour and Estate, how are they abused, blasted and imbezelled? the Priviledges of Parliaments, Laws of the Land and Liberties of the Subject; how notoriously have they been infringed, violated, and overthrowne? there remains now but one particular to finish the whole worke of plucking up, or abolishing the *Protestation Roote and branch*, and that is *breaking the union betwixt the two Kingdomes of England and Scotland*, which now also they are indeavouring to effect, as appears sufficiently by their unfriendly, nay reproachfull Declaration against the *Scotch Commissioners* and indeed against the whole Nation: and no question but they will (if they can) force many of those (whom they have made to sweare the contrary) to joyne with them in this *breach* also, as they have done in all the former: if the *Scots* once begin to make conscience of their old oath of *Allegiance*; and talke of their duty to their *Soveraigne Lord the King, His Crowne, and Dignity*; of supporting His Power and Greatnesse, according as they are bound by all Laws of God and nature; then away with these fellows from the earth (cry those that resolve to make no more Addresses to the King) 'tis not fitting they should live; though they were our dear Brethren before, yet now they are so no more, but *Malignants* as well as other folks, and fit for nothing but to have scorns, obloquies, and contempts cast upon them.

And here (by the way) let the *Scottish Nation* observe it well, and they shall find upon tryall, that those *Loyall English*, who from the beginning have adhered to their King, out of Conscience and Allegiance, will be more carefull by all loving and friendly offices, to preserve peace, and unity, betwixt the two Nations, from that *Common bond* of Christianity and humanity which

which ties us all together, then those others are, or will ever be, who have taken so many new Oaths, and Covenants to that purpose; all which, as they are unwarrantable, (wanting Legality and life from the Sovereign) so will they prove invalid, and too weak, to hold those who have ventured on them: nor were they intended (by those State-engineers who first devised them) as *Hen. Martin* tells the world, to bind the takers everlastingly to each other, or (indeed) to any other end, then to drive on present designs, and to batter the Consciences and souls of poor men; who are engaged by them (in very deed) to nothing else but to Repentance.

But we return to those of our *own Nation*, who now (we think) have fully seen the aymes, scopes, and endeavours of these milcreant persons, that have slighted all their Oaths, broken all parts of their Protestation, and are guilty of all the crimes that can be named from the highest Treason to the lowest Trespass; what is now therefore to be done by you, of this Anciently-noble *English Nation*, but to stand up for your *Religion, Laws, and Liberties*, to free your selves and Country from the insupportable Tyranny of these usurpers: to bring these superlative *Delinquents* to condigne punishment; to endeavour speedily your Sovereignes restoration to His Dignity; and to venture your lives, like good Christians and Gallant men, to deliver Him, that so many years protected and defended you, and hath now undergone (for your sakes) such *unparalleld sufferings* as nothing is superiour unto, but His *incomparable vertues*, and which (alas!) so many of you, have ignorantly, (by the fraudulent suggestion of these perfidious men) helped to bring upon Him?

Be you assured, that all those *Arguments and Reasons*, which they falsely urged to stir you up to combine with them against him, are onely good and to be lawfully thought upon, to perswade you, to associate now against them. Had the King been truly taxable of that they charged on Him; yet *Gods word, Christian verity*, and the *Law of the Land* forbids Resistance: but they all command the same against such as these, (though they were quite free from those other villanies which they abound in:) even because they are *usurpers*: for there is a vast difference between *usurpers* of Authority, and *ill managers* of lawfull Authority; be-
twixt

twixt those that *take power* to themselves to doe mischief with it, and those that *exercise evilly* that lawfull power entrusted to them. Our Saviour (in the dayes of his flesh) would not so much as censure *Pilate* for his cruell and bloody act, upon the *Galileans*, (when some did tempt him to it) that he might not seeme to countenance any, in so much as speaking evilly of lawfull power & authority, though abused. People when oppressed and wronged by their lawfull Superiour, have allowance onely to cry unto God, (as 1 Sam. 8. 18.) and to sue for reliefe by way of Petition, as the *Israelites* in *Egypt* did to *Pharaoh*, when they were so cruelly used by his *Task-masters*. But tis otherwise, if men be *usurpers*, and set up themselves, as *Abimelech* the *Bramble* did *Judg. 9.* or endeavour to destroy the Royall Family, as *Athaliah* did: if they oppress, (or whether they oppress or no) all men are bound to rise up against them, and to help that Royall Person or Family to their right, that suffers wrong by them; for *fiat Justitia aut ruet mundus*, if Justice be not done in such a case, the whole world it selfe (as may appear by the present temper of this Kingdome) will fall to ruine presently.

As in a *Family*, if the *Master* or *Father* abuse his Authority; no *Child* or *Servant* of right, can lift up an Hand against him; but if a *Child* or *Servant* shall take upon him to domineere over all his fellowes, and to abuse his *Parent* or *Master*, all the rest ought (and will if wise) rise up against him, and help their oppressed Governour to his power and place again: So 'tis, and doubtlesse so it ought to be in a *Kingdome*.

A Kings ill usage or restraint, is a full warrant and commission to all His Subjects, to Arme themselves for His liberty and restoration; the power is never in the peoples hand, save in such a case: but then they are all to advance as one man, in the behalf of their common Father; and to take those lawlesse *Wolves* and *Beares* (they are *Buchanans* words) who have no more right of authority over any, without their Soveraignes leave, (much lesse over Himselfe) then *vermine* have (such as *Weasels* and *Polecats* are) over *Hens* and *Chickens*; yea and untill the people doe so rise, they are (undoubtedly) not onely under the usurpers danger, but also under Gods heavy curse.

Curse ye Meroz (said the Angel of the Lord) curse ye with a
S f *bitter*

bitter curse the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to help the Lord, i. e. the Captaine of the Lord, the Anointed of the Lord, the Supreme Judge and Magistrate under the Lord against the mighty, that is, against those sturdy and rebellious Canaanites, who were growne so mighty, (by that strength of Militia, and Chariots of Iron which they had gotten) and did so mightily oppresse Israel, under whom they ought to have lived in obedience.

That Scripture (you all know) hath been much used of late, and as much abused; but tis never truly applyable save in such a case as this in present is: for the *Captaine of the Lord* is now in as much, yea in more distresse, then at that time; His people under as great oppressions; and the enemies as very *Canaanites* as those were, as much the *children of Malediction*, if not more; for those were under the curse partly for *Cham* their fathers sin, but these are solely for their owne; which hath been not onely of the same kind, as His was, (mocking and scorning at their Father) but acted with more impudency and vilence a great deale; for *Cham* found his father *naked*, but these have endeavoured (by this their cursed Declaration, & many others of like sort) to make theirs appear so; yea they have proclaimed him *naked* when he was not; in a most shameless manner they have shewn their *owne nakednesse*, & then published it to be their Fathers; and that not only to their *Brethren* (as He did) whose piety and modesty was apt to *hide* and *cover the same*, (whose ere it was) but to the whole world, to strangers, to enemies, that would be ready to credit the same, and glad to divulge it farther to their Fathers defamation; which was the very thing they aimed at: therefore *these* evill workers are more the *people of Gods curse*, then those *Canaanites* were; nor had those provoked Gods wrath (so much as these have done) by their breaches of so many *oathes* and *protestations*, of Loyalty and Obedience; nor had they practiced more injustice and oppression; therefore if *they* were designed to be subdued, and pulled downe from their usurped greatnesse; much rather may we believe that *these* are; and if *Meroz* was lyable to so sharp a doome, for not *helping the Lord* against *them*, then well may we feare a like portion, if we be backward in our assistance to the downfall of *these* men.

For are not these Gods enemies as well as any? nay more then any?

any? Did *true Religion* ever receive such disgrace and scandall as these have offered to it? Did this famous Kingdom ever produce such *monsters of Nature* before now? Surely the Kings of the earth, and the Inhabitants of the world would never have believed (if these had not been to evidence the same) that the *English Nation* could ever have bred such *Vipers*; or that among *Protestant Christians* there should possibly have been such *Malignant adversaries unto Piety and Princes*.

Take courage therefore you may against them, (all ye who in Christs name, and the Kings behalfe shall oppose them:) for their high and great wickednesse against God, speaks them out of his protection; as also doth their confidence in the *Arme of flesh*. For in very deed they *make not God their strength* (what ever is pretended;) nor ever did, but the *Militia* rather, for which they have contested: that is their Magazine of Hope, and Tower of Safety: their trust is, and hath been in the multitude of their Weapons, their Armies of Men, their numerous Associations, and their plenty of ill gotten Riches, wherewith they have, and think still to bribe and buy off those, whom by force and power they cannot master.

And these be the *sparkes* which they have *kindled*, and *compasse themselves about* withall: These be the very *fires* they rejoyce in, the *staves* they rest upon, but sayes the Lord to such as they are, that do as they do; *This shall ye have of my Hand, ye shall lie down in sorrow*, *Isay 50. 11.*

And do we not daily see *the things that are comming upon them, making hast*? Are not their Hearts unjoynted from one another? Is not their *Kingdome divided*, their Associations broken? Are not they that were *girded fastest* to them, fallen from them? How loudly do all persons every where cry out upon them? How generally odious are they become of late, who were before so much adored? How much greater now among all men is the *Hatred* of them then the *fear*? Who looks not upon them as *the people of Gods Curse*? as the very *poysen and pestes* of the Kingdome? who beleeves not that divine vengeance hangs over the Land, while they walke at liberty in it? see, see and consider it well; how *spider-like* they have been catch'd in their own *nets*, and *snared in the work of their own Hands*; How have they befooled themselves

in their owne doings; How hath their scandalous *Declaration* against the King raised plenty of fiewd in mens hearts against themselves? hath not all their filthy some spit out therein against Him, flew wholly back into their owne faces? is not His Majesty become thereby more deare and precious to His people, and themselves far more detestable? are their solemne *Orders* or *Ordinances*, entertained with any more respect now, then scorne it selfe can afford them? do not most men as slightly receive whatever comes from them, as themselves have done the Kings *Messages*?

And whence now is all this? who hath effected and brought to passe these things? hath not the Lord? and do they not plainly speake the approaching end of these men, or of their greatnesse and prosperity? are not all these particulars, so many evident prognosticks of their ruine? and may they not be taken too, as so many invitations from God, to rouze up our selves against them, and as so many intimations of His concurrence with us in such endeavours? nay, and 'tis to be noted too, when the Almighty (for our encouragement and hope) did begin thus to worke, it was at such a time, as these usurpers were at their greatest height, when they cryed out with open mouth *who is Lord over us? ours is the power and we will prevaile*. When they had resolved to make *no more Addresses to the King*, but to do as themselves pleased, *without Him and against Him*. Then, then did our God *awake as one out of sleepe*; then did he set himselfe against these men to confound them in their wayes, and to expose them to this publike contempt and scorne of all; And 'tis Gods course if he once begins, not to leave off, till he hath made an end too, *Root and branch* in a short time; the *spirit* saies it, *branch and ruse in one day*.

Indeed the Lord hath been fitting them for their shame a great while; He hath left them to themselves *because they regarded not to know God*, or to please him; He hath given them up to a *reprobate sense* (as a punishment for their sin) not to take notice of his hand going out against them, threatening ruine and extirpation of them; yea he hath *blinded their eyes, & hardened their hearts* to forsake their *owne mercy*; He infatuated their spirits to loose those opportunities so frequently offered, and to despise the proffers of peace so often tendred, whereby they might have been secured.

Now

Now as pride comes before destruction, so folly (we know) precedes a fall.

Undoubtedly the Lords purpose is, to make them the astonishment of the world for *confusion* and *misery*, as they have made themselves the amazement of the world for *wickedness* and *impiety*: He will bring upon them, all the *blood* which they have shed, all the *guilt* thereof, and so of all the *blasphemies* which they have vented, he shall make them *vomit up again* all the wealth of others which they have swallowed, *according to their substance shall the restitution be*: for *shall not the Judge of all the earth* (when he takes the matter into his owne hand) *doe righteously*? never a persecutor or opressor, never an Apostate or false Traytor, never a Parliament *Sheba*, or Pulpit *Shimei* of them all, but shall meet with his due demerit from him who hath pronounced of them, or of such as they be; that *they shall lie downe in sorrow*.

And thus you see what hopes there be of your speedy deliverance, (O ye miserably oppressed *English*) if you will now arise as one man, and shew your selves: you see how God is already gone out against your enemies, How his *Justice* is ingaged for you, and doth march before, to invite you to follow after. And if you looke but on the other side, you may see his *mercy* as manifestly appearing for your further encouragement. How hath that gracious Prince (whose servants you are) not slaine, but *Conquered his thousand, his ten thousand, yea his hundred thousand* of hearts and men? and that not with *sword* or *speare*, or any instrument of war; but by the sole strength of Gods mighty spirit, animating his soul in his great Afflictions, and carrying him on high, *above the waters*. How hath He like the glorious Sun, by the bright lustre of His Graces, broake through all those black clouds of calumny and slander, whereby these enemies of Majesty have laboured to obscure Him? How hath He by his wisdom, meekness, patience, and constant tenders of mercy to His greatest enemies recovered, yea and overcome (as Christ himself did) the minds and affections of His people? How hath his miseries for their sakes turned the streames of their love towards Him? surely *this is the Lords doing*; the victory is welnigh already won for us, by Gods sole strength in the Person of our Sovereigne.

How doth their black mouth'd *Balaams*, who for the *wages of*

iniquity have spit out so much *venome* against His Majesty, (whom they never had more knowledge of, then was brought unto them by His deadly enemies.) How do they now even *gnash* their teeth, and *gnaw* their tongues for sorrow; to here how His *vertues* are admired, and His *graces* reverenc'd: to seele how His *splendour* hath darkned them, by causing their vileneſſe to appear, in dissipating the ſlanders and dissolving the filth, which (with so much paines and pulpit sweat) they had laboured to bespatter him with, seven years together.

And now; are not these most evident markes of Gods *favour* to the King, and that His *mercies* are also engaged on His side, as well as His *justice*, and will be on yours if you are for Him? 'Tis true, God hath seem'd to sleep long to the cause of His Anointed, that the incredible and high wickednesse of the enemy might be known; and the invisible or inward excellencies of the King seen; but both these ends being now accomplished, the time is fully come of Gods *awising*, which will be the indoubted cause of His *enemies scattering*.

What (therefore) doth now remaine for you to do (O *English* people) but to make haste in the first place, to fetch back your King to His Throne and Dignity, in despite of those that keep Him Prisoner: See, see how the Ancient *Britaines* move already: nay, see how the *Scots* do promise to appear: Have not you cause to thinke that they intend to plead with you, (as *Judah* did with *Israel*), for the Honour of the worke; because the King is neer of kin to them? but have not you *ten parts* in Him, and so more right in this *David* now, then they, and reason to be as early in view unto this service? assuredly, though we gave the *Scots* leave to be the first, in departing from duty; yet we should all blush, not to be (at least) as forward as they, in returning to it: nay, we should all like good Christians, and penitent men, contend in love both with them, and one another, who shall be the formost.

And then let us all as one man conjoyne in this; to require of our false *Stewards* a present *account* of their *stewardships*: let's resolve upon it, that they shall no longer be *stewards* for us, because they have made such *waste* of our *goods*, and of what ever else was dear unto us; and if they refuse to come to an account at such

our call, let's force them to it ; full sore shall we sin against God, and the whole Kingdome, if we still permit them in their places : we can doe no wrong in bringing them to a Legall triall, (which is the thing we must aime at:) if they have (as they say) *defended the Law*, no doubt but *the Law will defend them* : but if they have broaken or laboured to destroy that, (which they pretended to maintaine, and were intrusted by us so to doe) 'tis but just and right, that they by it should be corrected.

1 And the disturbers of our peace being taken down or removed from us ; let's then call to minde that we are all of the same Nation, and were partakers of the same Baptisme ; and therefore ought to lay aside that which *presseth down*, or hardneth our Hearts against one another, to put away what ever hindreth from closing together in affections : it may suffice that we have played the fools hitherto, gone astray and quarrell'd all this while for we know not what : we must now *remember whence we have fallen*, and *return to our first Love*, to our bounden duty : our Sovereign like the *Prodigalls Father*, (as appears by his many *gracious Messages*) is inclined to receive us ; the Church like a tender hearted Mother, (*that cannot forget the children of her wombe*) will (upon our repentance) be ready to pardon us, and to sollicite our Heavenly Father for us. Those that have suffered wrong must be disposed to forgive ; those that have done wrong must be willing to restore what they have unjustly seized upon ; that so all impediments to Heaven, and Peace may be removed, and we no more return to folly.

And lastly, that there may be a well *grounded peace* indeed, betwixt the *two Nations of England and Scotland* ; and that we may live together, as Brethren ought to doe : let those of that *Kirk*, who are yet so zealous for their *Covenant*, that they would have it forc'd upon their Sovereign, & the people of this Kingdom, (as if it were the very foundation of Christian Religion, and as necessary as the Gospel it selfe:) Let them be pleased to consider calmly and seriously, how little of Gods blessing both they and we have had, since the first birth of it : how the *Reformation* (so much talked on) hath been obstructed : How the *Protestant profession* formerly planted hath been defaced : How the *Enemy of that and mankinde* hath sown the *seeds of false Doctrine*, since
(to

(to promote the Covenant) so many of the Clergy, have omitted to walke in those wayes of peace, humility, and obedience which Gods word prescribeth; How much contention and bloodshed hath been caused, how many Sects and Heresies have sprung up, How much blasphemy hath been vented, what strange perverseness of spirit, and unreverent language hath been used against Sovereigne Majesty, what little manners hath been shewne unto superiors, what occasions sought to quarrel with them, what catching at their words, what wresting and mis-interpreting of their writings and sayings, and all (as hath appeared) out of zeal unto the Covenant. O that they would please to consider of these things; and withall to remember that *Christianity* commands *morality* and to give to every men his due, *fear to Whom fear*, and *honour to whom honour belongeth*; it requires singleness of heart, & enjoynes to us deny our selves to please others, that they would hereupon desist to pursue with such heat their owne fancy, they knowing it to be point-blanke against an Act of their Parliament, 1585. (which utterly prohibits all Leagues, Covenants, or bands whatsoever, without the Kings consent. And that they would also take notice, how inconsistent their said Covenant is, with the constitution and temper of this our Kingdome: How 'tis not only broken, but derided, and scorned at now by many of those, who were at first very furious for it. In a word, that they would beleeve the *English Nation* in generall, doth as little like of what is put upon them by the *Scots*, as the *Scots* did, of what was sent unto them from the *English*; to speake plainly and truly, we have generally as little affection to their Covenant, as they had (when time was) to our Booke of Common-Prayer, and shall as ill digest it.

Nor indeed are the *English Nobility* and Gentry so weake spirited, as those of *Scotland* may appear to be, in letting their Clergy, (the chief promoters of the Covenant) under pretence of that to all the Pope among them; by obstructing the progresse of Civill affaires, and meddling in State matters. Should our Churchmen (as those there have lately done) put in bars against the Kings settling, or say that *themselves must have satisfaction before the King be restored to the exercise of His Regall power*: with what disdain would our right Nobility, and true Gentry,

(yea

(yea and well instructed Commonalty too) receive the same; they would reply upon them in this sort, and say: what warrant have you from Gods word to speake after this manner? you that should by your office and Ministry be teachers and patterns to all, of humility and obedience, will you Lord it, and that not onely over Gods flock, but over his Shepheard too, his Supream of all? must not He enjoy His owne right, His place, His Inheritance, nor exercise that power which God hath committed to Him, without your leave? much lesse shall any of us shortly (that are inferior to Him) command over our owne possessions without your allowance if we listen to you in this thing: surely, *you take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi*: they are the *Kings of the Earth* (saies your Master Christ) that are to *exercise Authority* over men, and (by your favour) over the Clergy too; and not the Clergy over Kings: if you are for that sport, goe pack to *Rome* among your fellows.

Thus should we in *England* be answered, and put off, with due rebukes, if we should be so drawne away from Scripture and from duty by a *Scotish Covenant*: And therefore it would be good, if those in that Kingdome, who are still such zelots for it; would please in coole blood to consider of it; and (according to the Apostles counsell) *study quietnesse, minde their owne businesse*: and as *Solomon* adviseth, *leane no more to their owne understanding*, Idolize no longer their own devices, pres no further their own inventions: rather let them and we (as becomes members of one Christ, and Subjects of one King) conjoyne first in restoring our Sovereigne to His Throne and power: and then in begging of Him, that a *Generall Conncell* or Assembly may be call'd, of the most *Learned, peaceable, and grave* men in all his Kingdomes: to argue with meeknesse (as becomes the Gospel) the *cases of difference* that are amongst us: And to their *determinations* (ratified by the King,) let us all submit with ready hearts and humble minds: So shall the lustre and Honour of our *Protestant profession* be recovered, which (by these unhappy jars) hath been defaced: the *peace* of many Consciences shall be settled; *Sects, Heresies, and False Doctrines* shall be suppressed; *tranquility, light, and love* shall be again restored to the people of both Nations;

His Majesties most Gracious, &c.

And we, (if we are the happy instruments of this.) shall hereby increase our Comfort, Crowne and Glory.

Now the God of all Grace, poure upon us all his Spirit of Grace, to worke up our Spirits to an holy frame, and Christian temper. Amen. Amen.

FINIS.
